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## ART. I.—MR. CLEMENTS' "THE RIVALS," BURR AND HAMILTON.

MR. CLEMENTS, in his novel, "The Rivals," charges Alexander Hamilton with a treasonable correspondence with the British forces during the revolutionary war. The writer intimates that he has investigated the subject thoroughly, and that the charge is not unsupported by facts. We are constrained, nevertheless, to believe that there is no good ground for the accusation, in the absence of better evidence. If there be none, Mr. Clements has transcended very greatly the just bounds of fictitious writing. Like Mrs. Stowe, he has gone far to make the novel a libel. She has distorted facts, and he has imagined them. We should be sorry to see him in such bad company, and advise him by all means carefully to eschew it.

We are not surprised, however, at the dislike which Mr. Clements avows to the character of Hamilton. It is the dislike of every generous mind to a reputation obtained under false pretences. The reputation of Hamilton is, for the most part, of this description. We propose to examine the fraud, and will do so with strict regard to the testimony of American history.

Mr. Clements, in "The Rivals," associates the names of Hamilton and Burr. He vindicates the last in comparison with his opponent, and in doing so, evinces a change in public sentiment which truth and justice have long demanded, and which must come at last.

No name in our history has been loaded like Burr's with undeserved obloquy. No reputation has suffered so much from the malignity of party hatred. He left no family to defend his fame. No friends interfered—the unpopular politician has very few. Spite and spleen, and hate and revenge, were

permitted to work their will without a sentence of reproof or contradiction. Calumny was piled on calumny, lies were heaped on lies, until the name of Burr became a by-word in every corner of the United States. So it continued until Mr. Parton's book called for a rehearing of the case. He shook the great public suddenly by the shoulders, and woke it up partially to a sense of the wrong and cruelty it had so long indulged in without a shadow of scruple. Since then it has been rubbing its eyes and yawning into a sort of half consciousness of its past meanness and injustice. But the process is a slow one. Men dislike to part with their settled convictions. They are prone to abuse those who attempt to controvert them. The people have been educated to believe that Aaron Burr was a chosen child of the evil one, and they listen with reluctance and anger to one who strives to persuade them that the condemned was perhaps as good a man as themselves. It is hoped that a second edition of Mr. Parton's *Life of Burr* may be required soon, and that he will sustain his defence of Burr's character with additional facts. He should give them without fear, favor, or hesitation.

But it may be said, Why has Burr been so vilified? If the imputations on his character are false, why have they been made? why have they prevailed for so long a time? why are they uncontradicted and not refuted? We will endeavor to show why.

It is not an unheard-of thing in human affairs, during times of great party excitement, that a prominent actor is overwhelmed with slander by the hatred of his opponents. Recent remarks in *Blackwood's Magazine* on a portion of Macaulay's history have brought one of these cases prominently to public notice. The character of Dundee has been for two hundred years in the same evil condition among the Scotch people that Burr holds, or has held, in the United States.

The odor, not of sanctity, but of sulphur, surrounded Dundee. He was believed by every devout whig to be in league with the devil. His black horse was a demon. He was safe by Satan's aid from all ordinary weapons. He was guilty of inhuman cruelty, blasphemy, and all impiety. The opinion has come down to the present time, and the eloquent historian whose late death the world deplures, has reiterated the charges of cruelty and outrage, appealing to partisan chroniclers for evidence and support. Even Sir Walter Scott, leaning as he did the contrary way to Macaulay, and feeling that Claverhouse had been dealt with falsely by the party of whom he

was the terror and scourge—even Scott was not altogether aware of the extent to which rancor and religious hatred had carried the enemies of Dundee. Recent discoveries of the truth referred to in Blackwood for August prove conclusively that the slanders are malicious and false, and that John Graham was as generous and gentle as he was skilful and brave. His enemies hated and reviled him because they had feared him. He died in the arms of victory. But the victory was fruitless. It failed to sustain the royal cause, and the successful whigs proscribed the victor, together with the family which he labored to defend. He stood in the position of Cromwell with the restored royalists, of Luther with the devout devotees of the Roman Catholic church—the position of one whose character is drawn by the hand of his bitterest enemies.

Similar causes have produced similar effects in the case of Burr. His position has been even more unfortunate than that of Cromwell, or Luther, or the champion of the Stuarts. They all had parties and defenders. Dundee was a favorite of the royalists. And although they were the losing party, and the reputation of the victor of Killierankie was overwhelmed for a time by the falsehoods of the successful faction, although the hostile spirit still exists, yet the voice of his friends is heard also. If the scourge of the whigs is still assailed by the whig historian, he is ably defended by the tory magazine. Truth is gradually elicited and asserted by skilful writers. But Burr has no party support. He has been assailed by all parties. The Federalists hated him because he drove them from power. The Republicans proscribed him because he fell under the ban of Mr. Jefferson, their leader. The death of Hamilton furnished to *his* party a happy opportunity to indulge their rancor; the southwestern project supplied the adherents of Jefferson with an occasion equally felicitous. Mr. Jefferson loved power as much as his neighbors, notwithstanding his prudish declarations to the contrary. He never forgave the involuntary opposition of Burr which nearly deprived him of the presidency. He pursued his chance opponent with unwearied and relentless hostility, and never ceased until he had ruined the reputation of Burr, and driven him from the country. Even abroad, the victim of party hatred felt its effects. While he struggled with poverty it labored to deprive him of bread.

The best abused men in the republic are the president and the candidates for the presidency. But when assailed by a torrent of filth on the one hand, they are washed clean by a stream of eulogy on the other. The adverse scales of praise

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and abuse are filled with equal assiduity. The equilibrium is preserved. What must be the fate of the politician who is overwhelmed by the libels of all parties? What if Abe Lincoln were exposed to the tender mercies of Northern as well as Southern opposition? If Mr. Breckinridge has been driven to the stump on one occasion by one set of libellers, what would be his condition if assailed by all? To whom would he address his speeches if there were none but enemies to hear them? Burr disdained defence. He was a proud man, and attempted no answer to political slanders. He held Mrs. Grundy in contempt. He left slanders and falsehood to work their way without contradiction, and Demus revenged himself accordingly. The torrent of federal abuse, the stream of republican slander, united to pour their confluence of filth on Burr's devoted head. He scorned reply, left the country, and abandoned his character to the brutality with which the curs of party are always prepared to treat their victims. His fate has been that of a man whose character is drawn by the most malignant enemies, with none to reply.

This, then, is the answer to the question, why have imputations been cast on Burr's reputation? why have they prevailed and not been refuted? Both political parties were his foes, and the people have formed their opinion altogether from the falsehoods of his enemies.

A judgment so formed must necessarily be unjust. This is self-evident, and requires no argument. It is a libel, not a judgment. The time has come to reconsider the award of prejudice and passion; to rehear the case, or rather, to hear it for the first time fairly. It is a debt due to the party maligned from the whole nation, who have been aiders and abettors of scandal and falsehood for so many years.

The required inquiry, to be just, should be thorough. We must not set out with a vague, lurking, half-notion, unconsciously drawn from prevailing opinions—a sort of compromise with the demands of justice—an assumption that Burr was a bad man with some good qualities, since these cannot be denied him. It must be proved that he was a bad man, that he fell below the general standard of his times for virtuous character, or below that attained by his rival and enemy, Alexander Hamilton, the subject of so much applause. This, surely, is the least that can be demanded from the foes of Burr, and the admirers of his contemporary.

We believe the reverse to be true—that in private and public life, as man and gentleman, in fidelity to friends, in cour-



tesy to opponents, as politician, patriot, soldier, Burr was the better of the two. We will compare them in the clearer light which is furnished us by recent publications.

Let us begin with their military career. They appeared before the public for the first time at the beginning of the Revolution. Not yet twenty-one, they took an active and earnest part in the war. They were high-spirited young men, full of ardor, courage, and the love of honor and applause. In the field, each performed his part well; Burr, certainly, in no way inferior to his contemporary. On the contrary, nothing in Hamilton's career is equal to the march through the winter wilderness to Canada, or to the masterly protection of the posts at West Chester. We are inclined to think that Burr possessed more military talent than his competitor, a cooler courage, a stronger control over the hearts of his subordinates, greater rapidity of combination, and more vigilant activity; Hamilton was the better secretary. More a man of the pen than the sword, he did good service to Washington in the letters which he wrote "over Washington's signature," as Mr. Hamilton, the biographer, amusingly expresses it.

This worthy gentleman would lead us to infer that Alexander Hamilton was the guiding genius of the occasion. The opinion is simply foolish. The historian complains, in his second volume, of being charged by the critics with sacrilege and defamation of the commander-in-chief. It is a mistake. He is charged with absurdity only in giving undue importance to the clerical labors of his father, in attempting to make the mere instrument the master-spirit of the times. If some ingenious Yankee could have invented an automaton letter-writer to relieve Washington of the manual labor of letter-writing, the letters "over his signature" would have been shorter, weightier, and more to the purpose. The correspondence from headquarters would have had more pith and less verbiage, sentences more pregnant but not so smooth and well-rounded. When Hamilton abandoned his post in a pet, we are not aware that the loss was perceptible to the country: the letter-writing went on as before. Had Washington, on the other hand, retired in disgust for causes a thousand times more harassing and irritating, the fortunes of the country would have gone to ruin. The one was indispensable to the occasion, the other a valuable tool only in the master's hands. We can make allowances for the vanities of filial affection, but it is impossible to shut one's eyes to an attempt so ridiculous as that of putting the cart before the horse in any shape or form.

In their military character and services, then, we believe Burr to be the abler officer, the better and more useful soldier.

But it has been said, in their revolutionary career, Burr was actuated by the love of personal distinction, and Hamilton by disinterested love of country. Is there any evidence for the assertion? Not a vestige. Burr's military talent was so obvious and imposing, that his superiors were glad, on many occasions, to throw on his shoulders the whole burden of command. But they wished it. They never intimated that he was seeking to supersede them. He did what they desired, and what they very sensibly desired. It has never been insinuated that he failed at any time in due respect to his superiors. Can this be said of Hamilton in reference to the commander-in-chief? Let us see. When he had been three years in Washington's military family, he abruptly abandoned his post. The reason assigned was a mere pretext. He had been a long time tired of his position, by his own confession, and seized the first occasion to leave it. The occasion was this: he had kept Washington waiting upon him after being informed that he was wanted. The information was given by the general in person. The secretary passed him, assigned no reason for not stopping, with the reply only that he would attend immediately. He did not attend immediately, and was rebuked with some austerity for a failure in proper respect. Hamilton at once required that they should part; and they parted accordingly. Washington was right, and Hamilton wrong. This is the calm judgment of Irving. But Washington valued the services of Hamilton as useful to the country. With the magnanimity that fitted him, with other noble qualities, for his high station, he sent a brother officer within an hour to express to Hamilton his regret at the occurrence. Hamilton declined the overture. In vain his excellent friend Schuyler urged his concern at the separation, and his fear that injury might arise to the service from the appearance of divided counsels at headquarters. Hamilton adhered to his resolution. His purpose was to push his chances for personal distinction in more active service. After suggesting to Washington the expediency of silence respecting the misunderstanding, while he himself talked freely of it to his friends, he immediately began to embarrass the general with applications for an appointment; and at the very time that he was thus adding to the annoyances of the commander-in-chief, he was writing to his father-in-law, General Schuyler, in terms respecting Washington, that may be properly characterized as nothing

less than impertinent, presumptuous, and arrogant. He says to Schuyler, that he had always disliked his position; that he had refused two invitations of major-generals before he accepted that of Washington; that he had done so because he was *infected* by the enthusiasm of the times with an *idea* of the commander-in-chief; that he soon became weary of his post, and determined to take the first opportunity to leave it; that the general was a very honest man; that his popularity had been serviceable to the country; that he ought to be sustained, as his rivals were men of little ability or integrity. When it is remembered that there was at this time in Congress a party bitterly hostile to Washington, of which the Conway cabal was the tool; that Gates was a prominent member of the cabal, and was expected by the party in opposition to supersede the commander-in-chief; that this party was so much in the ascendant as to appoint Gates to the southern command, in opposition to Washington's judgment, and without consulting him; when the secretary chooses this time to abandon his chief, and to use language respecting him as contemptuous as that of Conway on a former occasion in reference to the American leader, with whom he held no such intimate relations as those of Hamilton, are we not constrained to regard the pretext under which the aid abandoned his post as nothing less than treachery. He is writing, in the letter to which we have alluded, to a firm friend of Washington—one to whom he dared not use stronger language. He, therefore, only damns the commander-in-chief with the faintest possible praise. He had been *infected*, when a boy of nineteen, with the prevailing epidemic of admiration for the general, but he was evidently convalescent, and was anxious to change the air. The object of his boyish enthusiasm had dwindled from the heroic standard into that of a very honest man of some popularity which was useful to the country; to one who ought to be sustained, not from any intrinsic superiority or fitness, but because his opponents were men of little ability or integrity. Conway, a short time before, had spoken of Washington as a weak general, from the effects of whose inability Providence had protected the fortunes of the country. In Hamilton's opinion both parties were unsuited to the occasion. The right man in the right place was yet wanting. Who could that be, in the opinion of the aspiring secretary, but the good genius of the republic who had so long conducted its affairs in reality under the "signature of Washington," and "for him." No more ambitious man ever existed, nor one less scrupulous at tramp-

ling under foot or removing any one who might stand in his way. He was now ready for any emergency. He had shaken himself free from the intimate social relation with the commander-in-chief. But Fortune, who is said to favor the brave, does not as readily favor the crafty. Gates was defeated. The star of Washington was fixed in the ascendant. His enemies were prostrated. On his shoulders only could the aspiring hope to climb into power; and the ambitious schemes of the ex-secretary of interposing between the rival parties at some auspicious moment, and asserting his fitting place in the conduct of affairs, was lost forever. He was saved from himself.

It may be asked, why this letter of the ex-secretary and aid produced no feeling on the part of the commander-in-chief, when that of Conway, not more insolent, substantially, was resented with indignation, and ruined the writer ultimately. The answer is plain. The letter of Hamilton was unknown to Washington. Hamilton wrote to one on whose lenient judgment he could rely, and the letter was published only many years after the death of all the parties.

The time when Hamilton abandoned his post under a false pretext, was one of great privation for the American forces, and embarrassment and care for the commander-in-chief. The troops were without meat, sometimes without bread, scantily supplied with clothing, in a season of great severity. Washington was compelled to resort to requisitions on the surrounding country. The southern department was threatened. The faction hostile to Washington were strong, notwithstanding the disgrace of Conway. Hamilton's friends were perpetually inflaming his ambition, by asserting to him his claims to a prominent position in affairs. He was profoundly impressed with the opinion, which seems to be hereditary in the family, that he was conducting the important business of the country "for Washington," and "under Washington's signature." He seizes this occasion to leave his place, writes in terms of contempt respecting the great man into whose confidence he had been admitted, and adds to the general's thousand annoyances and difficulties by pertinacious demands for a military post, to which his conduct and language had forfeited every shadow of claim. Subsequent circumstances made it expedient for him to take Washington's high position, as his step-stone to power and influence, and not to thrust him aside, as he strove to do with Burr, Jefferson, and Adams. He therefore used the great man who trusted him as he used the soldier at Yorktown, on

whose back he stood to be the first in ascending the parapet of the redoubt he was assailing. The anecdote is characteristic of the vaulting ambition of the ex-secretary and aid, and of his unscrupulous mode of indulging it.

But our reader may not agree with us in these inferences from established facts. Be it so. We will not urge them. They are not necessary to our purpose. We assert only that the military services of Burr were fully and in all respects equal, at least, to those of Hamilton, and his conduct in service less subject to censure. About that there can be no dispute.

We next find them competitors at the bar. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to their comparative attainments and ability, they were both in the front rank. We suppose that neither was very deeply read in law as a science. Their youth was spent in camp. They were admitted to the bar after short and imperfect preparation. They were immediately engaged in very extensive practice. They were busy, leading politicians besides. These are not favorable circumstances for profound acquisitions in a science which demands the lucubrations of twenty years from the successful student. They were ready and eloquent speakers, adroit advocates, with easy access to the ears of the jury, and commanding influence before judges who had no more law perhaps than themselves. It is very probable that law then, as at other times, was what Burr described it to be, "whatever is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained." To insist that the adage indicates a low conception of law or government, on the part of Burr, as has been done, shows only the slight grounds on which prejudice reposes. Who has not talked of the law's delays, of the law's uncertainties, of the hapless fate of clients, to whom the shells are distributed while the court swallows the oyster? If Hamilton had been asked what is law, he would have replied, probably, by a pamphlet of many pages, under the signature of Aristides, or Trebonius, or Justinian. One of the men dealt in rhetoric, the other in antithesis. They were both successful in their practice, and no stain attaches to either as gentlemen at the bar. Neither was profoundly versed in law as a science, and in reference to the subject we are discussing, it matters very little whether the one or the other managed a case most adroitly.

The next character in which the two competitors for honor and office challenge public attention, is that of the active, prominent politician. They occupied a large space in the public eye. They were leading men in their several parties.



They rose to high dignity in the Republic. They performed their duties with ability and distinction—Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, Burr as member of the Senate and Vice-President. How far was either of them chargeable with the dishonesty of factious intrigue?

The only imputation cast on Burr as a politician refers to his conduct in the contested election for the Presidency, which arose from the equality of the popular vote for President and Vice-President. The law then required that the person receiving the greatest number of votes should be President, and the one receiving the next to the greatest should be Vice-President. The votes for Jefferson and Burr were equal. The election went into the House of Representatives. Burr was voted for through thirty-five ballotings by the Federal party. They preferred him to Jefferson. Burr was charged with intriguing for their support. There is not a shadow of evidence for the charge. The whole testimony is the other way. He was in Albany, which, at that time, in the winter, was like being in another world. He disclaimed by letter being a candidate in opposition to Jefferson. It was solemnly declared by leading Federalists that he was no party to their voting in his favor. The only intrigue apparent in the affair was that of Hamilton. He advised the Federal leaders to make Burr a candidate, then to defeat him, and thus ruin him with the Republican party. He could not bear the idea of his detested rival succeeding to the Presidency, but was willing to use the occasion to destroy him.

It was not on this occasion only that Hamilton is chargeable with the meanness of political intrigue. It runs through his whole life. He attempted to intrigue with Jay, who was too honest for his purposes, and rejected his advances with scorn. He was perpetually engaged in anonymous attacks on his political opponents. He disturbed the peace of Washington's cabinet, while Secretary of the Treasury, by scurrilous newspaper articles against his brother secretary, Jefferson. In vain Washington remonstrated, and required forbearance. Hamilton promised forbearance one week, and repeated the offence the next. He slandered Burr habitually; dined at his table, and repeated the dinner toasts, to the disadvantage of the host. At one time, Burr frankly asked an explanation. Hamilton promised amendment, and went on with the practice as before. It ended at last in the duel. Adams, when he refused to lend himself to the ex-secretary's designs, became at once the target of his most envenomed attacks. He had intrigued himself

into the command of the army. He intrigued with Miranda and the British authorities to involve the country in a war against France and her allies, with a view to attack the Spanish possessions, for his own especial aggrandizement. When Adams crushed the scheme by making peace with France, Hamilton denounced him, intrigued with members of his cabinet for materials the better to assail him, and disgusted the leading men of the Federal party by violent attacks upon him. Hamilton's whole life was that of a selfish, restless, arrogant, and unscrupulous politician.

Nothing at all like this is justly chargeable on Burr. He was dexterous in the management of parties, but he never slandered his opponents. In a letter to Hamilton, seeking explanations for certain defamations, he declares that he had never assailed the reputation of his political antagonists; that he had always been careful to treat them with delicacy, to do justice to their merits, to be silent as to their foibles; that such had been his conduct, invariably, towards Jay, Adams, and Hamilton himself, the leaders of the Federal party. The assertion of Burr has never been contradicted. He uttered no defamatory pamphlets. He circulated no dinner-table conversations to the disadvantage of the company. Such are the two men who occupy positions so different in the people's esteem. The one delicate, scrupulous, forbearing, the other a practised libeller, with his pen forever in the inkstand—forever in the newspapers as Aristides, Camillus, Phocion, Catullus, the Lord knows what not, with political libels on all who opposed him, foes or friends.

To say that Hamilton's restless intrigue and incessant libels were the result of his disinterested anxiety for the public service, proves nothing, except a resolution to find nothing amiss in his character. It is still worse to take his slanders on Burr as worthy of consideration in estimating their several merits. It has been said, in proof of his candor, that he spoke on one occasion very differently of Burr and Jefferson, though detesting both. The occasion was, when he was anxious to dissuade his friends from voting for Burr against Jefferson. It only proves that of the two men he hated Burr most cordially. Burr was his opponent, not only in the nation, but in the state, in the city, at the bar, everywhere. Where was his candor towards Jefferson when they were pitted against each other in Washington's cabinet, where he disturbed the President's peace with his broils? Did the gentlemen of the Federal party agree with him in his opinion of Burr? They voted

for Burr through thirty-five ballotings. Did they do this, believing Burr to be "a Catiline, a conspirator, a man without political or moral principles?" The supposition is a slander on the Federal party. One distinguished member of the party from New-York, refused to join in the vote for Burr, but the reason he assigned was, that it was clearly the people's intention Jefferson should be President, and Burr Vice-President, and he thought the intention should be respected. He never hinted an objection to Burr as a corrupt man. In this Hamilton always stood alone.

In the same spirit of hostility, Hamilton defeated the appointment of Burr as minister to France. It is no disrespect to Washington to say this. No consideration ever induced him to give office except in conformity with his own conscientious judgment. But he would seek information from those on whom he relied. His personal knowledge of Burr was very slight. Hamilton was in the way of knowing Burr thoroughly: they belonged to the same city; he was the President's confidential adviser. What more natural than that the President should ask his counsel or information, and distrust the man whom he denounced as a "Catiline?" What more absolutely certain than that Hamilton never lost an opportunity of so denouncing Burr? But what then? Are we to suppose that Madison, and Monroe, and Clinton, and the whole Republican party, were pressing the appointment of a "conspirator" on the chief magistrate? At the time, Burr stood politically, civilly, socially, in the very front rank of the Republic. Is the opinion of the entire Republican party, coupled with that of the whole Federal party, Hamilton excepted, to go for nothing? Is it to be outweighed by the slanderous invectives of an interested and unscrupulous rival? Will the high court of history admit Hamilton's libels as evidence against the man whom he hated and habitually slandered? He might mislead the man who trusted him—he ought not to mislead posterity.

It was in the same spirit of increasing malignity that Adams was prevented by Hamilton's friends in the Senate from appointing Burr to the command of a brigade in the army raised during our troubles in France. The objection was, that Burr was an intriguer, when, as Adams remarked, Hamilton was himself the greatest intriguer in the United States, and was yet made the second in command.

Is it surprising that this pertinacity of enmity should end as it did in a personal conflict, at a time when duelling was the received custom, and when Hamilton had himself pro-

voked a resort to it with other parties on more than one occasion? No one can read the correspondence without being convinced that Hamilton was wrong throughout. He had slandered Burr, according to custom; he refused all explanation or apology; he exhibited no frankness, no manliness, but was shuffling and evasive in every letter. No blame attaches to Burr. He did not seek the occasion—it was forced upon his notice. He did no more than the received rules of society required of him. His language was moderate—he asked nothing more than an explanation in the most general terms. Hamilton would say nothing. The duel became inevitable, and Hamilton, when he could do no more against the character and position of his antagonist, left a posthumous attack on them in the shape of a written protest against the practice of duelling, in which he had always been willing to engage, and in a declaration to his confidential friend that he would not return his antagonist's fire, when it is doubtful whether he did not anticipate it.

We have gone through the military, civil, and political life of the two men, as far as concerns their moral position. In this point of view it is not important to discuss the question of their relative ability. Hamilton was a man of great talent. It was kept in constant, excited exercise by his inordinate ambition. It was chiefly and most favorably exhibited in the treasury. Yet all his schemes of policy have been condemned and repudiated. The best of his writings are his papers in the *Federalist*, but they are not better than the contributions of Madison and Jay. The question, however, as we have said, is one of the comparative moral excellence of the two parties. So far as we have gone, we affirm broadly and confidently that Burr was the better man of the two, and that no one can fail to come to that conclusion who will discard prejudice and appeal to facts.

To complete our examination of Burr's character, we must turn to his private life. We shall review it, as we have done his public career, in connection with that of Hamilton.

On the close of the Revolution, Burr married Mrs. Prevost, a widow with two children. It is admitted that in all the relations of domestic life he was not only irreproachable, but exemplary. He performed the part of a father to the sons of his wife. He was a tender and attentive husband. To his own daughter and only child, Theodosia, he was a devoted father and friend. In all the married period of his life no stain attaches to his reputation. It was after the wife's death

and the daughter's marriage and removal to Carolina that charges of licentious conduct were made against him. He was then a man hanging loose on society, violating no domestic ties, but acting too much in conformity with the manners of the times. What his sins were we do not profess to know. They have been enormously exaggerated, beyond a doubt. His biographer affirms that he never sought to corrupt the innocent, and that his advances were made only when he was willingly met. Gallantry, as it was termed, was the fashion of the age. The examples of the English court for many successive reigns had polluted the morals of the people. It was the period when Chesterfield's letters were the manual of polite circles—letters that taught the "manners of a dancing-master and the morals of a prostitute." It was reeking with the recent gross debaucheries of the second George, of whom the story is told by Lord Harvey, that when his queen on her death-bed besought him to marry again, he replied, weeping and blubbering, "No, no; I will have mistresses!" "Mon Dieu!" said the dying queen, "that need not prevent you!" He had kept them all her life—her personal attendants among them. We do not allude to these things for apology, or extenuation even, but to explain only. No vice does more to pollute and degrade society than loose intercourse between the sexes. We would denounce it unsparingly. But it was the vice of Burr's age, and the only defence set up for him is that he was no worse than the rest—no worse, by a hair's breadth, than his uncensured neighbor, Alexander Hamilton.

We have said that, at the time of these scandalous chronicles, Burr had no immediate domestic ties. He had no home whose sanctities he might desecrate by his vices. Not so with Hamilton. He lived in the bosom of a large and amiable family—an accomplished and beautiful wife, a large number of promising children. Yet, notwithstanding these strong and manifold inducements to purity of life, he was notoriously, and by his own public confession, addicted to women. There is no pretence of doubt in his case. It is not mere rumor or report. We have it under his own hand, published in the city newspapers. In his pamphlet explaining the nature of his intercourse with Reynolds, husband and wife, he admits his intrigue with the wife and his keeping the husband in pay to conceal the intrigue—an intrigue carried on partly in his own house during the family's absence. He admits his general character for licentiousness, and does not attempt a denial. He assigns a reason for the strange exposure; but whatever



the reason for exposing them, the facts which prove his profligate conduct are the same. We deny the force or justness of the reason. The exposure was unnecessary, disgraceful, and of evil influence on society.

It was unnecessary. His friends said it was required to defend him from a charge of official misconduct. It was to defend him from the mere ghost or echo of a political rumor four years after the event. The event occurred in 1793, while Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury. The pamphlet was published in 1797. In the year 1793, a rumor was circulated that the Secretary was dabbling in stocks of his own creating. It reached the ears of his political foes. Three members of Congress—Monroe, Muhlenburg, and Venable—waited on the Secretary, stated the report, and demanded an explanation. If true, they would bring it before Congress. Hamilton explained—it was an amour with Mrs. Reynolds; he had paid the husband for acquiescence; the husband had bought stocks; hence the rumor. The gentlemen were satisfied, and there the matter ended. Four years afterward it was reported that Hamilton was a candidate for the presidency. As usual on such occasions, every possible slander was arrayed against him, among them the old story of dealing in stocks. He might have treated the babble with contempt, as Burr would have done. He might have stated to the people in general terms that such a falsehood had been in circulation before, and that he had convinced his political enemies of its falsehood, which was all that the occasion required. He did neither. He had great faith in a pamphlet, and he published one accordingly. With almost incredible indelicacy, want of self-respect, and of decent regard to the woman concerned, he told the whole story. He published her letters in the form of an appendix. They were full of endearing terms, very indifferently spelt. He spared nothing, and with the exposure of the poor woman's weaknesses he interweaves a sentimental apology to his wife for his "conjugal infidelities." To save himself from a political slander, he drags an unfortunate woman into the public journals, and places her in a position at once disgraceful and ludicrous before the public eye. Can anything be conceived more pitiful and contemptible? Is there another man of the American Revolution, calling himself an officer and a gentleman, who could by any possibility have done the same thing? Burr would have scorned it. It has been said of Burr that he left letters of his female friends at the mercy of his executor. The assertion has been proven to

be false. Suppose it to be true. He died at eighty. Very few of his correspondents could have been alive. What would this offence be, compared with the unblushing publication of his rival? Yet Burr is a demon of licentiousness with the impartial public, and Hamilton a model of moral excellence. How stands the record between them? Both are accused of being addicted to women, the one from common rumor, the other by his own confession publicly announced; the one at least respected the secrets of his female friends, the other pillories his frail companions for the scorn of the people; the one surrounded but not restrained by every consideration of family and home, the other standing loose from all such influences. Which was the worse man of the two? It was the very ties and relations which Hamilton broke and disregarded that have defended his memory and protected it from the consequences of his vices. The power and popularity of a large family connection have been exerted in every form to exalt the reputation of Hamilton, to extenuate his faults, to glorify his talents and virtues.

It is a sublime spectacle, it has been said, to see a man bear misfortune with bravery. No man ever bore it with more unflinching fortitude than Aaron Burr. Poverty, desertion, the unjust hatred and censure of a whole people, never broke or bent his spirit. He sustained it all with calm, unruffled dignity, disdaining explanation or defence.

He was remarkable for the most unbounded charity. He gave to every one that asked. His friends remonstrated, but he replied—they ask in God's name, and in his name I give. We are not aware that his rival was subject to this weakness. It is said that charity covers a multitude of sins. In Burr's case it has covered none.

There is one subject remaining to which it is necessary to ask our reader's attention—the adventure of Burr, by means of which his enemies were enabled to drag him into court, arraign him for treason, and make him odious in the eyes of the American people.

At the close of the Revolution a general sentiment pervaded the country hostile to the Spanish government. It was most active in the West. The outlet of the Mississippi was essential to their interests. The most judicious of our statesmen, Mr. Jay himself, nursed the spirit and kept it alive. The subsequent seizure of Florida by Jackson, and his constant diatribes on Spanish treachery, are evidences of its strength and continuance. Jefferson, acting in conformity

with this feeling, resolved to seize the Spanish possessions. In December, 1805, he sent a confidential message to Congress, advising the measure. At the same time Burr prepared his expedition. The confidential message, however, reached the ear of the French ambassador. He informed Mr. Jefferson that Napoleon would consider an attack on the colonies of Spain as cause of war with France. Mr. Jefferson, whose weakness was never a rash courage, dropped the scheme forthwith. Not only so, but in his terror lest he should involve the country in a war with France, he set himself to stop Burr at all hazards. There can be no doubt that Burr knew the views of the administration. His friend, John Smith, of Ohio, then a senator, had been consulted by Jefferson as to the temper and views of the Spanish colonial authorities. This readily accounts for the rumor that Burr was acting in conformity with the wishes of our government. It accounts for the complicity of Wilkinson, a man at once pompous and servile, as Irving describes him, and for his subsequent treachery to Burr, after supporting and encouraging the adventure. We are no admirers of filibusterism, and see nothing to regret in the close of Walker's career. But as a question of morals we can perceive little difference between Mr. Jefferson's projected seizure, from which fear deterred him, and Burr's scheme, induced by Jefferson's project. There is just as little between Burr's proposed robbery of the goods, and Mr. Jefferson's purchase of them when stolen by the great plunderer of Europe. They belong to the same class of cases. To the same class, also, we must assign the intrigue of Hamilton, at a prior time, with Miranda and the British authorities, by which he labored to involve the country in a war with France and her allies, for the purpose of invading these same coveted colonies for his own personal aggrandizement. This ambitious project is imputed to him when in command of the army. It was for refusing to lend himself to it that Mr. Adams incurred the enmity of the schemer, and his active, unprincipled opposition. In a moral point of view, there is nothing essentially different between the views of the three politicians—it was the same ambition using similar means for the same end. *W. E. B.*

To connect with the charge on Burr the imputation of designs on the Union, is simply absurd. It suited Mr. Jefferson to make it. It protected himself. It made the man whom he hated odious. His whole proceedings, during the trial of Burr at Richmond, indicate beyond mistake the strong enmity of the President to the accused. No man of common under-

standing, far less of Burr's sagacity, would have dreamed of anything so ridiculous, *at that time*, as dissolving the Union. Now, to be sure, it is a different matter. Wise men talk and write about it without ceasing, and think themselves patriots besides. It is very certain that Andrew Jackson, the great champion of the Union, considered the accusation against Burr as false. He supported Burr at the trial. He denounced Jefferson, and treated Wilkinson with indignant scorn. But the false charge and the perjured witnesses of the prosecution served the purpose intended—they rendered Burr odious with the people, and drove him from his country. It may be asked why did Burr withhold an explanation of his views? Because he had not abandoned them. He went to England immediately after the trial, to press his projects on the British government, to induce it to do, in connection with him, what it had been ready, a few years before, to do with Hamilton. But he was met abroad by the malignant hatred that had ruined him at home, and his application was without success.

We have gone over the military, civil, and private life of Aaron Burr. There is no blot on his military career. Hamilton is not free from serious censure, and still more serious suspicion. He broke with the commander-in-chief under a pretext. He refused every advance and all advice to reconciliation. At a period of great embarrassments with Washington, he added to them by a pertinacious demand for an appointment. It was a time when the party in Congress hostile to the general-in-chief was in the ascendant. Hamilton's friends were repeating to him, from day to day, their confidence in his ability for the highest stations. He was not slow to believe that he had conducted the most important affairs "for Washington," and "under Washington's signature." His language respecting his principal was as contemptuous to the full as that of Conway. He was never scrupulous in assailing those who stood in his way. Can any one refuse to believe, if circumstances had favored, and if the setting aside of the honest man, with a little useful popularity, would have made way for the brilliant talents of the ex-secretary, does any one doubt his readiness to meet the occasion? We do not.

In their political career, Burr affords a model of gentlemanly reserve and propriety toward his opponents; Hamilton, a disgraceful example of unrestrained virulence and invective. No charge of political intrigue, dishonest or dishonorable, attaches to Burr; Hamilton's political life teemed with it throughout. He proposed a political fraud to Jay that the honest statesman

scorned. He suggested a party manœuvre to the Federalists, in the contested election of Jefferson and Burr, that they refused to listen to. He intrigued with Walcott and Pickering, members of Adams's cabinet, against its head; he strove to involve the country in war for his own personal aggrandizement; he pursued Adams with unrelenting animosity because he refused to countenance the scheme; his whole course was marked with slanderous invective and unscrupulous action, offensive at last to his best friends.

In their private and domestic life, Burr was in nothing inferior to his contemporary. As a husband and father, a neighbor and friend, in courage, benevolence, generosity, resolution in bearing adversity, no man was his superior. In the vices of his age, in that imputed to him most especially, with more delicacy and self-respect he was no worse, to say the least, than his rival and neighbor.

The charges, of whatever kind, made against Burr, rest on vague rumor, on a "they say," or it was "supposed," or "reported." Those against Hamilton are under his own hand. We have no space to give them in detail; but they are easily found in his pamphlets and letters.

The inquirer who will examine these evidences, and not be content to take the loose opinions of party malignity for the sober judgment of history, will be forced into the conclusion that Burr was a better man than Hamilton, with a larger share of the qualities that constitute the gentleman, without the arrogance and insolence that deformed his rival's character, more steadfast to his friends, more just and generous to his enemies, with equal intellectual ability, though not kept in such restless and excited action as the mind of his contemporary, not perpetually seeking public occasions for personal advancement, by parading his own pretensions and secretly assailing those of his opponents. This, we believe, will be the future verdict of impartial history.

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## ART. II.—GROWTH AND DECAY OF NATIONS.

GROWTH and decay characterize all created beings known to man. It is thus, by a law impressed on all the kingdoms of nature—mineral, vegetable, and animal. Not only individuals but families and races are subjects of its inexorable requirements.

In our article on the Prairies, in the August number of this



magazine, we expatiated on the laws of change in the vegetable world, giving alternate possession of the lands to the grasses, the trees, and other kinds of plants. It has occurred to us that a similar generalization applied to animals, including man, would result in the just application of the same principle.

Change, growth, and decay of families, cities, nations, and races, mark the short history of the human family. The residence of many generations of the same blood on one spot, makes it a plague-spot to man. The decayed and decaying families, cities, and races of the world afford ample proof of this truth.

Families intermarrying and having a long residence on the same soil, deteriorate in character, physical, moral, and intellectual, in proportion, other things being equal, to the closeness of consanguinity, and the duration of residence on the same spot. Frequent change of blood and of location seem to be essential to a continuous advance of mankind to higher characteristics. It is true that there are apparent exceptions to this rule, applied to families. Several generations of closely intermingled blood have, in some instances, manifested decided continuity of excellence, but this does nothing to invalidate the rule, as, in these instances, other than temporary causes have operated to obstruct the control of the general law. Crosses of blood which have resulted in men and women of extraordinary perfection, physical and moral, may have that perfection fixed, in a measure, through several generations, by confining marriages to persons having the improved qualities. The general law would, likewise, operate much slower in families whose healthy locations and invigorating habits of life have given to them a force and energy of nature beyond the average of men. The apparent exceptions are, therefore, seen to be only cases where, from opposing forces, the law operates more slowly. It is the operation of the particular law modifying the action of the general law, or acting in subordination to it. Time is gained, but the great law of change, sooner or later, brings all within its control.

The life of cities has its duration made longer or shorter by causes too numerous to be detailed here. Their healthy existence may be prolonged by more perfect drainage; by enlarged parks and open grounds; by extended limits made practicable by avenue railroads; and by their inhabitants coming under the influence of a better knowledge of the laws of health; but Peking, Canton, Constantinople, Naples, Vienna, Madrid,

London, and Paris, will surely take their turn, and become as Babylon, Nineveh, Memphis, Tyre, and Carthage. The causes of decay leading to final dissolution spring up and multiply during their growth, until these causes become too strong to be resisted by the natural forces of their particular organization. It was safe for the Jewish prophets to foretell the destruction of the great cities which grew up and flourished in Western Asia, on the borders of the great rivers Euphrates and Tigris, as it would be safe at the present time to foretell the fate which the inexorable laws of nature are preparing for London, Paris, Vienna, Naples, and other great cities, which have long had a dense population. Most of these great cities are, in their oldest portions, at the heart, exhibiting evident signs of decay. Like ancient trees, while at the heart they are wasting away, they add circle to circle of outward growth; now gaining in progress of growth on the measure of interior decay, and again failing to increase outwardly as fast as the interior portions waste away.

Most of the great cities of Asia are now in a state of decadence, having passed the noonday of their existence. Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and a few others, are *modern* cities, and, therefore, exceptions in that great and most populous quarter of the globe. Throughout the great empires of China and British India, together containing full half the people of the earth, the three cities named above are the only noticeable exceptions to the great number of cities of these empires that are hastening to their downfall. Of these, containing from half a million to two millions, Peking, Canton, Changchow, Tientsin, Soutcheou, Benares, &c., all are on the downward road to destruction. Whether these will be replaced by other cities built by the same race, and better adapted to save their inhabitants from the pollutions incidental to the huddled masses in the old cities, or whether the race will go down, with their cities, to subjection and ultimate extinction, is a problem to be solved only by time. The valley of the Nile, from time immemorial, has been a notable theatre of changing dynasties and races, and the rise and fall of cities.

There can scarcely be stronger facts adduced in support of any law of nature than Egypt offers, to sustain the position we have taken, that man, like vegetable nature, is subject to the law which requires change of habitation and change of race, and exhibits growth and decay as the leading characteristics of his history.

The great cities of the East have mostly outlived the vigor

of their existence, and must give place to others to be built up in less impure localities—distant from the reeking accumulations of filth, which render them intolerable to civilized people, and so work their extinction or expulsion.

It is stated, on good authority, that the condensed air of a crowded room gives a deposit which, if allowed to remain a few days, forms a solid, thick, and glutinous mass, having a strong odor of animal matter. If examined by a microscope, it is seen to undergo a remarkable change. First of all, it is converted into a vegetable growth; and this is followed by the productions of multitudes of animalcules—a decisive proof that it must contain organic matter, otherwise it would not nourish organic beings.

The exhalations of a great city, always impure and always existing in the air which is breathed by its inhabitants, must form an atmosphere peculiar to each city, and more or less injurious to human life. These exhalations, from both living and dead matter, from the immense breathing and cutaneous surfaces of animated existences, and from the great amount of putrefying animal and vegetable substances, accumulate from year to year, from the very birth of the city, until its inhabitants become weak and worthless in body and soul.

The relative duration of the life of modern cities depends on a great variety of circumstances. We propose to speak of the relative merits of these cities, as respects the natural advantages of location. Some of our chief cities are situated on large rivers which carry far away the filth which is thrown into their waters; while other cities, located on tide waters flowing back and forth along their borders, and receiving into their currents and eddies the accumulating filth of the city, have the exhalations from this filth constantly rising into the atmosphere and wafted through their streets. In the first settlement, in the early stage of growth, the tide-water cities are more healthful, being usually on a soil barren, or moderately fertile, while the nascent city, on the banks of a large river, is subject to malarial influences arising from the decay of a profuse and neglected vegetation. As the river city grows populous and becomes larger, the relative healthfulness is reversed, while both it and the tide-water city are accumulating within their borders excrementitious matter injurious to health. But the river borders, by cultivation and by husbanding the vegetation so that little of it goes to decay, cease to give to their city malarial disorders; and thus, in this respect, place it on an equal footing with the tide-water city. Then com-

mences the great advantage of the river city, in having the filth of its multiplying population carried by the waters far away from the houses of its people.

In Europe, Paris and Vienna are examples where large rivers give to these cities great advantages for the removal of offensive matters. London, situated forty miles above the mouth of the river Thames, which is here four feet above the level of the sea, has, almost up to our time, been exempt from the evils of a mere tide-water city. The Thames drains an area of over six thousand square miles; and, as the fall is nearly four hundred feet from its head to its mouth, and, at London Bridge, the fall is nine inches to the mile, it will be readily understood that its sewage filth, until increased to a vast amount, would be carried down the stream and be diffused in the waters of the North sea. Of late, however, it has been found that the river, up to and through the city, has become so loaded with filth that its exhalations give forth a stench almost intolerable to the residents on its banks. A plan is being got up to carry off the filth of the city, in large sewers, to a point many miles below the city, and there discharge it into the river. But as the tide flows through the city—a tide on the lower border of some seventeen feet—it will be impossible to prevent the return to the city, in aerial or gaseous form, of some portion of the filth, to poison the air and injure the health of the inhabitants. The new sewerage is projected with a view to provide for a future population of five millions! London will never grow up to five millions. No one can foresee the exact time when that commercial metropolis of the world will cease to grow, and will commence the inevitable downward course. The causes, at work and to be evolved, to produce that result, are probably too numerous, too complicated, and too recent, to be comprehended by any one at present. They may, at first, appear as mysterious as those which have caused the potato-rot.

In our country, New-York may be instanced as the great tide-water city. Although the Hudson river flows along one of its sides, it must be considered that this river flows in a bed so level that the tide sets back one hundred and fifty miles above the city at its mouth, and, that what accession of water it brings to the bay of New-York, is mingled with the expanse of waters of that large bay and its extensive arms and inlets. Nearly all around the narrow island-city, the tide, flowing backward and forward, sifts into the atmosphere such impurities, thrown into it by the numerous sewers and along its ex-

tensive wharves, as arise in exhalations from its widely-extended surface. What these exhalations are, and how poisonous, we know chiefly by their effects, chemistry, as yet, giving us but slender information of their exact nature. With all the advantages which an improved sewerage and police may give, it seems certain that New-York must become increasingly more and more an unwholesome place of residence in proportion to the increase of its mass of population, especially during the warm months, and in a measure, throughout the year.

Our river and lake cities will, evidently, as they increase in size, be exempt, in great measure, from the evil effects of effluvia from accumulations of sewage filth. The great rivers of the central plain—the Mississippi and St. Lawrence—have a current which will carry away any amount of filth thrown into them from the cities built on their borders. The St. Lawrence embraces the broad expansions known as the great lakes. These, except at the head waters of Michigan and Superior, have a grand and steady current hurrying along through them, to and over the great Niagara cataract, and so on through lake Ontario. This current, through lakes Erie and Ontario, which receive the waters of the great upper lakes swelled by their affluent streams, is great enough to carry away and disperse the filth of many populous cities. Of the future great cities on the borders of the chain of lakes, Chicago and Superior City are most unfavorably placed for having their sewage carried off before it has much time to exhale its poisons into the atmosphere. So near the heads of their respective lakes, and the streams which come into their harbors being small, the day will come, probably during the lives of the present generation, when both these places, but especially Chicago, will suffer severely in health from the same cause which cannot fail to be injurious to all tide-water cities, such as New-York, Boston, Baltimore, etc. Chicago will have a rapid growth, and soon become a great city, but its growth must be retarded by the insalubrity caused by exhalations from its sewage. There are no considerable streams flowing into Lake Michigan above Chicago; the sewage of that city thrown into the lake, will, therefore, be sifted backward and forward by the movement of the waters, from which will be exhaled into the air, and mingled with that which is breathed by its inhabitants, much that is poisonous to the blood.

The other cities on the St. Lawrence lakes and river—Milwaukee, Port Huron, Detroit, Toledo, Cleveland, Buffalo,



Toronto, Montreal, and Quebec, and some others similarly situated, may reasonably expect a longer life in consequence of having the filth from their sewers and other means of drainage carried far away, before it has time to exhale much of the poison which it sends forth into the atmosphere.

It is obvious that the cities of the rivers Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri, will have the advantage of the great current into which their sewage flows, to remove it rapidly from their atmosphere. A long life may, therefore, be safely predicated of all the chief commercial cities of the two great river systems of our country, with the exceptions before mentioned.

The earth tires of the same races of men on the same spot, and more quickly where great masses congregate upon it. A nation of large extent *may* have a natural life of several thousand years, depending for its duration on favoring or unfriendly circumstances, on the composition of its elemental races, on the climate, on the number of its people among whom marriages are limited to caste, and many other circumstances. China is believed to have become greatly overpeopled only within one hundred years past. Her downward movement is therefore of recent origin. So great an empire embracing so wide a territory, so many tribes of people, and such variety of soil and climate, might be expected to have a long life. And so it has happened. Its present civilization, almost unchanged, has existed several centuries; and a high comparative civilization has existed, in the most populous portions, for a long course of centuries. But the natural period of dissolution of that kind of civil society seems to have arrived. A new order of institutions must take their place. The Mongolian is hastening to his downfall, and he will be saved from extinction only by the intermixture of his blood with less effete races. Migration to other and distant lands, and intermixture with better races, may infuse new vigor, and prolong the existence of this race; but, in the end, they will give place to better races. It is evident that the best breed of men of Europe is to prevail in all Eastern and Southern Asia, and throughout Africa and America. The best men of Europe and the United States have resulted from the mingled blood of many Caucasian tribes. What result will follow the more extended amalgamation of races which is to take place in America as a consequence of immense immigration into it from all quarters of the globe, can only be imagined. Let us hope that it will culminate in a race of men nobler than any

which has hitherto worked to adorn God's beautiful earth; since, according to the prophecy of Berkley, it is to form the last and noblest empire of man.

The Chinese were brought up to the degree of civilization which they attained, by intermixture of the blood of Tartar tribes, whose healthful climate and wandering habits had kept them in high physical vigor. This needed only to have the social virtues engrafted on it to bring forth, in that great empire, the degree of excellence which it so long ago attained. For so many generations, since that renovation, they have lived and died on the same soil, intermarrying in the same communities, that the race has become almost effete; certainly it has become so deteriorated as to require a new infusion of blood, and a new colonization therefrom, to stay its decline and give it another upward impulse. Its present weakness, compared with the vigor of the nations with whom it is now brought into intimate relations, invites aggressive renovation, which it is now receiving from England and France. So near are countries brought together which a few centuries ago were called, and appropriately, in reference to each other, "the ends of the earth," that there arises a kind of necessity of their becoming assimilated—of the more ignorant and weaker receiving knowledge and direction from the more knowing and powerful. Although England and France occupy the extreme west, and China is on the extreme east of the Old World, that recent, growing, and powerful instrument of civilization, *steam power*, has brought these great nations into close contact, so that assimilation to a considerable degree becomes a necessity.

That war and devastation should be the instrumentality to accomplish this, seems much to be regretted. But if the sufferings of the present generation may, probably, effect the renovation and future well-being of several hundred millions for many future generations, the sacrifice may call for acquiescence, especially by us who only participate in the sufferings to the extent of our general sympathy with afflicted humanity. The wars which the two great powers of Western Europe are waging in the heart of the great Eastern empire, will have a tendency to wake up latent energies of patriotism in the mass of the Chinese, which cannot but elevate them in some degree. At present, the chief motive of this mass to activity of mind and body is the acquisition of daily food and necessary clothing. A higher motive of action, though forced upon their acceptance, cannot but tend to elevation of character. To enable

the multitudinous Mongolian race to break through the trammels of old, fixed habits, there must needs be, not only violent internal action, but there must be added a large emigration and colonization. There must be a change of habitation, to a large extent, and a mingling with the more advanced and advancing civilizations, as well as a mixing of the blood of other races.

It is believed that every distinct race of men, having reached a culminating point in civilization from which it has commenced a descent, will continue to descend until its power passes away, and, after being for a time subject to a superior race, finally intermingle with that race, or be extinguished. There appears to be a period of time beyond which the same race of men cannot exist, in health and vigor, on the same soil. It must either change its location, or be mixed with other races, to save itself from inevitable decay and destruction. The law of nature, which makes this change a necessity to man, is recognized almost everywhere as applying to inferior animals.

Every farmer knows the advantage of a change of pastures for his flocks and herds, and of a change in the breed or blood of his animals, from time to time. Animals loathe the herbage stimulated in its growth by their own excrement. There can be no doubt that the taste of man, in this respect, is still more fastidious. The vegetables grown from the filth of cities are, in some degree, distasteful and unwholesome for his table. In a less degree, but certainly to some extent, the grains produced on land fertilized principally by city sewage and other city filth, are also unwholesome. It may seem extravagant to carry out the application of this principle to the animals grown on herbage and grains, the product of city manures; but, it is well established that the milk of cows fed on herbage, stimulated in its growth by city excrement, is less palatable and less wholesome than that which comes from the natural pastures of the country.

Is it unreasonable to suppose the meat as well as the milk of animals so fed, is unwholesome food?

A general impression prevails that wild meats—the trophies of the chase—are digested more readily than the flesh of domestic animals of the same species and varieties. This impression is founded on the experience of many generations, and has grown into an established opinion. May we not predicate upon this fact, that meats, as well as grains and vegetables, are wholesome food for man, other things being equal, in pro-

portion to the absence of city-made fertilizers, especially of sewage manures.

History is full of examples of partially deserted countries and decaying cities, the probable causes of whose decay (among others) were the continued presence of the same race unmixed with other races, and the accumulations of excrementitious matter thrown off by the generations that have lived and been buried therein.

We know of no example of a decayed race or a decayed city that has been *permanently* regenerated, so as to rise again to distinguished prosperity and power. But cities, nations, and races, after passing their climax of power, have sent forth colonies which, in other lands, have risen to commanding positions among nations. Persia had her day of power, for each of the races that, in its turn, culminated on her soil. So, also, had India, Egypt, Assyria, and other countries of old renowned.

Invariable and long-continued intermarriages, in the same caste or class, certainly deteriorate the progeny, and bring it down to a degree of weakness inviting aggression of stronger races, and fitting for subjection the degraded class. The operation of this law of animated beings is well understood by intelligent stock-growers. Breeding in and in, that is, from the same blood or strain, is found to deteriorate the constitution, and is only resorted to with a view of securing some peculiar points of excellence supposed to be established in that particular breed.

Change in place in a like climate, and, to some extent, change of climate, seem to be essential to the maintenance of that progression in excellence, physical, mental, and moral, at which all mankind should aim, and for which they should strive with the whole force of their natures.

The flocks of Spain are the best in the world, especially on account of vigor of constitution and excellence of fleece. This is owing, in part, to semi-annual change of pasture and climate, deemed so important as to have been regulated by law, almost from time immemorial. So excellent has become the breed of Spanish merinos, that all the best wool-bearing sheep in the world are, more or less, indebted to the blood of this breed for their most valuable characteristics.

Frequent change of place, therefore, as well as change in the strain of blood, is essential, not only to progress in excellence, but to the maintenance of such degree of advancement as had been previously attained.

To an indefinable, but certain extent and degree, every land will bear an amount and duration of human beings, beyond which it loathes to sustain and continue them, and they become so enervate as to tempt the incoming of a more vigorous conquering race. It may be doubted, however, whether any land, once overpeopled so as to cause *decided* and long-continued degeneration of its inhabitants, can, until after a long interval of time, if ever, become a proper home of an improving, progressive people. Byron's beautiful and striking comparison of the land of Greece to a beautiful corpse,

"Ere the first day of life has fled,"

composed and serene,

"Ere yet Decay's effacing fingers  
Have swept the lines where beauty lingers,"

illustrates this position when it closes with—

"Such is the aspect of this shore—  
'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!"

The blue hills and mountains; the green slopes and valleys; the shining waters around its bold promontories and among its rocky islands; the glorious sky, reflected by the beautiful light of a Mediterranean sun; all these, and more than these, of nature's beautiful features, were there, but life—great human life—had departed. It was *living* Greece no more. It was no longer the nursery of heroes, poets, historians, painters, sculptors, and architects. To all that was most glorious in human life, it was and is dead. The beautiful body, once refulgent with noble action, is still there, but the soul has departed, and "we know not where is that Promethean fire that will those eyes again relume."

The earth tires of races of men as it does of species of plants. We have an instance in our aborigines. The American Indian is in rapid progress toward extinction. His contemporaneous and conterminous existence with the best races of man cannot, as experience proves, long endure. His moral, physical, and intellectual inferiority doom him to pass from earth to give place to the superior representatives of humanity. The best qualities of his nature—courage and fidelity—are overbalanced by his destructive propensities. He lives but to destroy. The fiat has therefore gone forth, that he must be destroyed. The leading motives of his life—the principle that controls his action—will be, is being applied to his race, and must cause its extinction. A constructive race, laborious to increase food and to multiply permanent habitations and other comforts for



succeeding generations, has come in to take his place. The American Indian not only lives by the destruction of animals and plants, but he delights in the destruction of his brethren of other tribes, sparing, in his devilish fury, neither mother nor child. His moral nature places him but little above the higher classes of inferior animals; indeed, it debases him much below some of them. The dog, with equal courage and fidelity, is less destructive. The white man, by his self-imposed industry, benevolently multiplies comforts for his fellows, and, in so doing, beautifies and adorns the heritage vouchsafed by his Creator. In doing this, he shows his fitness to possess and enjoy the best portions of our beautiful earth. The red man mars what God has made beautiful, and thus abuses the good gifts of Providence. His fate is fixed by the inherent vices of his nature. He passes away in conformity to the great law of change, which acts with constantly increasing force toward perfection, by causing inferior to give place to superior natures.

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#### ART. III.—CUBA: THE MARCH OF EMPIRE AND THE COURSE OF TRADE.

A SOUTHERN confederacy may now be considered an accomplished fact. It is time to look around us, and to consider and to determine what shall be our domestic policy, what our foreign relations. Napoleon, with admirable prescience, said, "The empire is peace." These words are no longer enigmatic—England is just discovering that France proposes to undermine her supremacy, by dividing her trade, and cutting off her supplies. He does not wish to invade and conquer either England or Italy. Each country is overpeopled; and France, already staggering under pauperism, could ill afford to burden herself with the paupers of England and Italy, in addition to her own. The project of Asiatic and African conquests is given up, and in lieu of it France is successfully endeavoring to push her trade, by inland navigation and by railroads, to Persia, Arabia, India, and China—to traverse the Old World by steam and telegraph in the most favorable latitudes, where lands are the most extensive and fertile, and their products the richest and most desirable. Situated on the Mediterranean, thousands of miles nearer to Asia and Africa than England, with steam navigation, she must gradually, but surely, supersede England in much of

her present trade and commerce. Distance is all important in steam navigation, for coal is not only costly, but, in long voyages, leaves little room for freight. Besides, England has to encounter, on all sides, the stormy Atlantic in high and cold latitudes. Her ships of equal burden will cost twice as much as those need cost that only navigate the Mediterranean, the Red sea, and the Persian gulf.

France is not satisfied with traversing the Old World alone, but is determined, with her commerce, to belt the world—and to belt it, where climate is most favorable, and the land widest and richest. By a canal from the James river to the Ohio, she will connect the trade of the Mediterranean with the trade of the Chesapeake, and extend continuous and various water communication from the interior of Asia, Europe, and Africa, to the Rocky mountains, the lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico, in America. Of this vast area of trade France is the natural centre and *entrepôt*. Her manufactures are the most tasteful and excellent in the world, her people the most cheerful, polished, and agreeable in social intercourse, her soldiers the most chivalrous, and her scientific men the most numerous, skilful, and learned. With such advantages, the peace policy of the nephew will conquer more than the war policy of his illustrious uncle. The Mediterranean in the Old World, the Chesapeake, Ohio, and Missouri, in the New, present to the eye and to the understanding, the greatest route of commerce. England and New-England are out of this line—isolated regions, too far north (since steam navigation begins to supersede sailing vessels) to compete successfully with nations situated near this line. “The empire is peace,” is no longer a riddle of the sphinx. He who runs may read it.

“The march of empire” has always followed the “course of trade.” The ruins of Africa and Asia, older than written history or tradition, attest this fact; for all those ruins are found along the ancient course of trade.

The earliest records of history tell of commercial states along the coasts, or in the isles of the Mediterranean, and along the land routes from the Black sea and Levant to India and China. In fact, “the world known to the ancients” was confined to this route, and its immediate vicinity. England, Holland, and New-England, have diverted trade for the last two centuries from this its great natural passway. “Expel nature with a fork and she will again return.” In the long run nature conquers man; and now, armed with steam, she comes to assume her ancient empire, and to travel along her

time-honored pathways. Napoleon foresaw that this change of trade was about to take place, long before it was apparent to other statesmen, and hence his enigmatic maxim, and perplexing policy. With this thread to guide us, his policy ceases to appear dark, disingenuous, and labyrinthine. We now see in its conception and execution the well-ordered plan of a bold, quick-sighted, and wise man. He has the comprehensive *coup d'œil* of his uncle, and all his powers of rapid generalization and combination, and is equally bent on conquest; but would conquer with steam instead of gunpowder, and conquer without effusion of blood.

What shall be the policy of our Southern confederation? We live in the latitudes to which high civilization, energy, industry, and enterprise, have ever been peculiar. We live along the great natural route of trade. We own a vast and magnificent territory, nine tenths of which is uncultivated, or but half cultivated. Have we not enough at home—and enough to do at home? Shall we not adopt the Napoleonic maxim, and cultivate the arts of peace? Had not the Southern States better continue to make cotton and sugar, promote and encourage education, and build up trade and manufacture, than to go filibustering, embroil themselves in foreign war—and, if successful, conquer and annex territory that would destroy the homogeneity of their population, and give us an unwieldy and ungovernable empire, split up by dissensions, and soon to break to pieces from its own cumbrous weight? Had not the border States better try to occupy the place now held by the North, and carry on trade and manufactures not only for themselves, but, in part, for the planting States also? Countries producing a large agricultural surplus, have never labor sufficient to manufacture all the articles they need, nor to carry on all their foreign trade. It is impossible for them to do so, for another reason. They must exchange their agricultural surplus for the manufactured products of other countries; else *they* would soon be surfeited with a plethora of money, and the *world that traded with them* be drained of all its coin. Trade is an interchange of industrial products, and money but a means of facilitating that interchange. Disunion will be far more advantageous to the border States than to the planting States, for nature has so ordained it, that agricultural nations make money to spend it in commercial and manufacturing nations, where it accumulates, and is invested as permanent capital. The cotton States must build up the wealth of those with whom they trade.

But better build up the wealth of the border States and of France, who are their friends, than of England and the North, their direst enemies.

"Coming events cast their shadows before." The mouth of the Chesapeake is about to be united in the intercourse of commerce with the mouth of the Mediterranean. We have facts, more than shadows, to prove this. A French company undertakes to connect, by canal, the waters of the Chesapeake with those of the Ohio; and the French government endorses and encourages the scheme. England sees its advent, and trembles. The Great Eastern visits the Chesapeake, and chaffers for our trade. England would anticipate and exclude France. But let us be cautious of her advances.

These reflections have been elicited in part by the stirring events at the South, which occupy all men's thoughts and attention, and in part by the perusal of a small work on Cuba by Dr. R. W. Gibbes, of Columbia, South Carolina. The only thing in this admirable book with which we do not concur, is the suggestion that it is desirable that we should own Cuba. Spain, Brazil, and the South, are the only slaveholding countries. If Cuba were detached from Spain, the cause of slavery would be weakened, not only by the loss of one of the great powers of Europe as its friend, but still more, by converting that rising nation into its irreconcilable enemy. Cuba, Brazil, and the South, are continually cited by the London "Times," and other leading journals in Europe, as instances of the happy, contented, and flourishing condition of slave countries, and contrasted with the impoverished, half-civilized, and degraded condition of English and French colonies that have liberated their negroes, and with the still worse condition of Mexico, and the South American States, that have been guilty of the same folly. Did we own Cuba, her prosperity would be at once attributed to the Anglo-Saxon race, and to American institutions. This would narrow and weaken the argument in favor of the institution of negro slavery. As things now stand, we see that this institution enables an oppressed race (the Cuban Spaniards) to flourish as never people flourished before: combining European civilization and refinement, and American hospitality and generosity, with more than Asiatic luxury—although oppressed with enormous taxation by the mother-country. The worst-governed country in the world, it is no doubt the happiest country in the world—all owing to negro slavery. It stands out in bold relief as an example of the wisdom of retaining negro slavery; and, contrasted with its neighboring

English and French isles, as a beacon to deter from the repetition of French and English follies. Let this living argument, this conclusive proof, of the rightfulness and expediency of negro slavery, stand for ever as it now stands.

The Southern people, now, are fused into a common mass; all speak the same language, have the same manners and customs, the same moral notions, the same political opinions; emphatically, they are one people. Disturb not this harmony by introducing a foreign element. Harmony constitutes national strength: discord begets dissension, civil broils, and national weakness. Peoples of different national descent cannot live peaceably under one government, unless the one people be slaves to the other. We do not propose to make the Cubans slaves, and yet know not how they might get along as our co-equals.

Again, Cuba is full of free negroes, mulattoes, and coolies. How should we dispose of them?

Our Southern territory is now compact, and easily defended. Cuba is exposed to attack from every quarter; and to defend her from foreign invasion or domestic insurrection, would cost more than the defence of all our existing Southern confederacy.

Cuba is so near to us, it is argued that it ought to belong to us. But there must be "an outside row" to all cornfields and all nations. To annex all your neighbors, is to annex all the world. The rest of the West Indies are near to Cuba, and to defend Cuba we must annex the West Indies. Mexico and South America are near the West Indies; and to defend them we must annex Mexico and South America—&c., &c., *ad infinitum*.

The Southern States, rounded off with the Indian territory, will constitute a splendid empire. Let us bend all our energies to improve this territory, and endeavor to keep at peace with the outside world. Charleston, Savannah, Pensacola, Mobile, New-Orleans, and other ports in the cotton States, after disunion, will easily and naturally supersede and exclude the Yankees and English in the Cuban and other West Indian, Mexican and South American trade. The distance to be encountered by Englishmen and Yankees would alone suffice to enable us to supplant them. But besides this, no Northern people have any taste, elegance, or refinement, and their manufactures are all coarse and vulgar, as their tastes, or, rather, as their sensual appetites (for taste they have not, except for beefsteak, ale, pumpkins, collards, and *saur-krout*).

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eracy.

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Cubans would prefer to trade and associate with Southerners ; because, as slaveholders, they have the same generous and elevated sentiments, and the same social interests. The rapacious greed and cunning thrift of Yankees and Englishmen disgust them—but they have better grounds to dread and avoid them.

Let us endeavor to enter into treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Spain and Brazil, and form, also, commercial treaties with them. They are the neighbors and natural friends and customers of the South. Let us guarantee Cuba to Spain, so long as she preserves negro slavery intact ; and strike a blow for Cuban independence, the moment that institution is interfered with. Cuba ought to be an independent nation. We would rejoice to see her assert her independence : and to see the South aiding her to attain it ; but never, never, do we wish to see the mad attempt made to annex her to our Southern confederacy.

Dr. Gibbes' little work is written in a lively, easy, familiar style. Its descriptions of scenery, dress, manners and customs, agriculture, individual and national character, and of the different races in Cuba, are concise, vapid, and graphic. The island, in all its luxuriant beauty and prodigality of wealth, seems to rise up before our eyes. We have never read a book of travels in which so much that was agreeable and instructive was embraced in so small a space. The author selects his topics with admirable taste and judgment, and handles them with grace and vivacity. He is no egotist, and gives us facts without boring and wearying us with his opinion and theories. He is satisfied to describe things as they are, without running into philosophical disquisition to account for their causes, or philosophical speculation as to their future effects. Most travellers and historians, now-a-days, treat their readers as nurses treat infants : chew their food for them. Every fact is accompanied with a long explanation, a tedious commentary, or a fine-spun moral, political, or religious theory. History no longer "teaches philosophy by example," but philosophy presses history into its service, distorts and falsifies it, in order to build up new-fangled moral theories ; and men, now, set out from home to travel, not to describe what they see, but to find out facts and arguments to sustain preconceived prejudices and prepossessions. The English travellers in America prove and illustrate our doctrine. They leave home hating us, and travel among us to hunt out facts to justify that hatred, and to induce others to undervalue us, and hate us as cordially as

they do. Of the theoretical historians, Macaulay is the most notorious instance. His vicious philosophy occupies his entire attention, and he only introduces occasionally a questionable fact to sustain his philosophy.

Treatises on philosophy should be read in separate works, not blended with travels and history. The business of the latter is mere description and narrative, and the reader is insulted when the author arrests the description or the action of the story in order that he may preach a tedious homily about what he sees or relates. Readers are not infants that require their food to be chewed for them. Besides, such travellers and historians are wholly unworthy of credit, and the reader becomes disgusted when he finds that they are studiously selecting and distorting their facts in order to establish or sustain their preconceived prejudices or their favorite philosophy. Dr. Gibbes has set an excellent example in writing travel without dosing us with his philosophy. We hope his example will be followed. This little volume is a striking proof of how much useful and agreeable information may be compressed into a small space when the author sticks to his appropriate business, and never steps aside to theorize and sermonize.

The author is modest and unpretending as he is gentlemanly and accomplished, and never hesitates to adopt the descriptions of others when those descriptions are graphic and truthful. There is nothing in the book finer than a description of a coffee plantation, which he has borrowed :

"A coffee plantation is one of the most beautiful gardens that can well be conceived of; in its variety and beauty baffling correct description, being one of those peculiar characteristics of low latitudes which must be seen to be understood. An estate devoted to this purpose usually covers some three hundred acres of land, planted in regular squares of eight acres, and intersected by broad alleys of palms, mangoes, oranges, and other ornamental and beautiful tropical trees. Mingled with these are planted lemons, pomegranates, cape jessamines, and a species of wild heliotrope, fragrant as the morning. Conceive of this beautiful arrangement, and then of the whole when in flower; the coffee, with its milk-white blossoms, so abundant that it seems as though a pure white cloud of snow had fallen there and left the rest of the vegetation fresh and green. Interspersed in these fragrant alleys is the red of the Mexican rose, the flowering pomegranate, and the large, gaudy flower of the peonia, shrouding its parent stem in a cloak of scarlet, with wavings here and there of the graceful yellow flag, and many bewitchingly fragrant wild flowers, twining their tender stems about the base of these. In short, a coffee plantation is a perfect floral El Dorado, with every luxury [except ice] the heart could wish."

The accomplished author has given in, we think, to a popular error as to the influence of warm climate on human energy, enterprise, and industry, that has done infinite harm at the South, and will continue to do harm until it is corrected. He

appears to think that warm climates diminish human energy. Has he not taken up this opinion upon trust, and without examination? Is it not disproved by all history, all experience, and all philosophy? Is there one single ancient monument of industry, energy, enterprise, taste, skill, or high civilization, in cold climes? And are not the mild temperate and torrid full of such monuments in Asia, Europe, Africa, and America? The historical proof seems to us conclusive, of itself. In venturing on the philosophical proof or reason why man is most energetic and industrious in warm, and even hot climates, we know that we are presumptuous, and the doctor may admonish us, that "the cobbler should stick to his last." Nevertheless we take the plunge. Is not heat a stimulant? and cold a sedative? Does not the former incite to action, the latter to inaction, torpor, and finally to sleep, ending in death? Are not the animals of warm climates generally active and vivacious, those of cold climates dull, heavy, inert, and torpid? Are not the animals of warm climates very superior in instinct and sagacity, and do they not possess more of the *vis vite* than those of cold climates? Does not intellectual *inertia* usually accompany bodily *inertia*? Do not exercise and labor in hot climates exhaust the animal heat and cool the body? And do not exercise and labor have the same effect in cold climates, and freeze the body? Are not indolence, inertia, and torpor, bestowed on northern animals (man included) to economize animal heat; and love of action on southern animals to lessen and exhaust it? We know that we shall betray ignorance enough in asking these questions to show that we are rather seeking than attempting to give information; and we further know that, if our author will carefully examine the grounds of his opinion, we can apply to no better source for correct information. Self-depreciation is the great besetting sin of the South, and we invoke aid in our humble attempt to correct it.

We wish our space would permit us to give many passages from our author's work, for we know such passages would be more agreeable and instructive to the reader than any remarks of our own, and it is only by quotation that we could convey an adequate and just idea of the book. We must confine ourselves to a few extracts. We give his description of a sugar estate:

"Having letters to the hospitable proprietor of *La Ariadne*, at Limonan, we took the cars at 9 A. M., and arrived at his beautiful *ingenio* at 10½, in time for breakfast, finding another party of visitors just returning from a morning ride—

the ladies in ecstasy with the easy-pacing ponies. We were received with great cordiality, and a hearty and courteous welcome by Mr. A., the son, who manages the estate. After the full descriptions by Miss Bremer, Miss Murray, and Dana, of this admirably-managed plantation, we scarcely know what to say of it. We have visited many a larger, but we have never seen a sugar estate better ordered, or so systematically administered. The arrangements are exact in all departments, and carried out with ease and a success which well repays the minute attention of the manager. He is highly intelligent, well educated in Paris and by extensive travel, and fully appreciating agricultural improvement, nothing is lost in the various processes, but everything turned to account; the escape steam is made to heat the reception pans of cane juice; and if a horse dies he is buried in the manure heap, &c. The process of sugar-making seems here to be very simple, and the machinery not at all complicated. The hands in the field, with a long knife, cut the cane close to the ground, top it, and throw it from them, to be taken up by others, who strip off the blades and throw it into the ox-cart close by. When eight or ten carts are loaded, they go to the sugar-house, where the cane is emptied and piled around the press or crushing machine. This is fed by a wide trough, and as the cane passes through the press of three heavy cylinders, it is crushed and deprived of its juice, and falls into the cart below, to be hauled away and dried for fuel. It is then called *bagasse*, and is dried in piles, by the women, and covered with blades or housed, being the only fuel used for the furnace. It requires to be most carefully watched, as it is like tinder, and a fire is fatal to the hopes of the planter. The lower blades of the cane in the field being dry, ignite readily, and often the whole crop is swept by the work of an incendiary. Last year there were extensive fires, destroying many crops.

"It is said that in some parts of the island *black-mail* is levied on the planters, and money freely given to buy exemption from villanous stipendiaries, known only by anonymous letters, demanding a tribute. Every precaution is necessary, in consequence of the danger of fire, and the police of the estate is essentially aided by the numerous bloodhounds, which are turned loose at night to keep off strangers. They are very severe, and greatly feared.

"The cane juice passes into the reception pans, heated by steam, now called *quarrappa*, and then into other pans, called defrecators, where lime is added to neutralize acidity. It then goes into a succession of boiling pans, and is skimmed; the scum passes into the tanks, from which it is carried to the manure pile. The juice in the last pan, when of the proper proof, goes into the large vats, and after standing twenty-four hours, cools into *Muscovado* sugar, and is put into hogsheads.

"The hogsheads are carried into the draining or purging house, and having holes in the lower ends, are placed on a floor of sack work, for the molasses to run into long troughs in a lower story, terminating in tanks; from which it is put into hogsheads.

"There are various estates on the island, on which clayed and refined sugars are made, and in preparing the latter the machinery is very complicated. On Mr. C's estate you have a fair specimen of a model establishment. Though not large, it is most efficiently worked. The visitor here has beautiful walks in the avenues of the royal palm, of the ornamental mango, or the picturesque cocoanut or cocoa-palm. He finds, in the variety of tropical fruits and flowers, full occupation for his botanical knowledge; or he can study the huge black ant, so destructive, in its colonies and various characters of industrial pursuits. He can find the chameleon, the tarantula, the scorpion, and the centipede, of colossal proportions to tax him further; or, in the woods and fields, birds which he has never seen before. The large oxen hauling immense wagons of cane, heavily loaded, attract attention, not only by the manner of being yoked by the horns, but by their admirable training. They are divided into two sections, one of which works a week, while the other rests—alternating with regularity. They are of fine size and fat, and are the best specimens we have seen of the improved breed of the country. This estate is the only one we have visited where improved agriculture, from older countries, and book knowledge, are adopted, and in all departments we see progress indicated.

"The negroes are well looking and well cared for, which is not the case on some estates we visited. A large number of little ones is the evidence of good treatment, and a general healthiness seems characteristic of them. Our party was amused at seeing a crowd of children collected at the piazza dropping upon their knees with the regularity of a drill by the old nurses, to receive the benediction of 'Old Massa;' who, in addition to the 'Adios' usually gave each a biscuit to their great satisfaction. We wish some of our abolitionists at home could see these *blessings* in their proper light."

We will now introduce an extract, principally an account of a lively and graphic description of a cock-fight, which is one of the most common or characteristic amusements of the Cubanos. We approve of cock-fighting, because it is carried on openly, and takes the place of more sinful amusements—which skulk away from public observation. Card-playing, faro, and dabbling in lotteries, corrupt men's morals and bankrupt their estates. But men must have excitement, and mimic war is the most natural and least noxious. In hunting and shooting game, and catching fish, we kill animals for amusement—in cock-fighting they kill one another. Which is the more cruel, which the greater offence? The cook grins with pleasure as she wrings the heads off the chickens, and witnesses their headless summersaults and dying struggles; and the sportsman is in an ecstasy of delight when he sees a dozen innocent birds fluttering in their death pangs. Is all this wrong? Shall we all abjure animal food, and turn vegetarians, like Horace Greeley and some of his abolition followers? We hate and despise this affected sentimentalism, that overlooks the sufferings of our neighbors, and conjures up imaginary griefs to weep over. We detest a Conthon, plying the guillotine on his fellow-beings, and nursing a poodle in his bosom; a Laurence Sterne, writing maudlin sentimentality, and abusing his wife; and a Greeley, professing universal philanthropy, while stirring up servile insurrection. Men are not rendered better by indulging morbid and unnatural sympathies and sensibilities, and looking at all things from the sickly stand-point of a "Melancholy Jaques."

Our author was suffering from weak lungs, and found that occasional northerners suddenly chilled the air of Cuba, and rendered it unhealthy to persons affected like himself. He, therefore, proceeds to Trinidad, on the south side of the island, where the climate is always mild and equable. From there the letter from which we extract was written:

"TRINIDAD (Cuba). *January 27, 1860.*

"On the arrival of the *Isabel*, among the visitors who came on board was Col. Wood, the manager and business director of Donetti's trained monkeys. He told us they were doing an immense business—the receipts being about



\$1,800 per day. He is said to have cleared upward of \$20,000 by this monkey show. As we rode up in the 'volante,' from the custom-house, and met numbers of these queer vehicles, with the huge negro postillions, in fantastic livery, gold and silver lace, blue and red jackets, with hat-bands of the same, and large boots, with long, huge, silver spurs on—the latter sometimes on bare heels—we could not avoid the idea that Donetti might get large receipts for his show at any turn in the street. The "cabrero" is a machine, his motions are mechanical, and you call to him to give directions at starting, or in motion, he goes a-head, heading the notice, but turning his head to neither the right nor the left, as if not hearing you. We met numbers of negroes in long blue coats, trimmed with red, and facings and cuffs of other colors; with cocked hats, and broad bands upon their heads, and these, we were told, were dressed to attend a funeral! In every direction some ludicrous object presents itself; and, really, when the bells for church struck up their tin-panning, it seemed as if the whole city was a burlesque affair. Had we arrived three weeks earlier we would have witnessed the amusing and grotesque exhibition of *el día de los reyes*, which would have increased the ludicrous idea. On that day (6th of January), the several tribes of negroes have holiday, and choose their kings. They dress up in every variety of queer and singular costume and character, and parade the streets in the enjoyment of their carnival. However, first impressions are not always the most correct. The houses, all of stone, with iron bars to the tall windows, and jail-like looking doors, seemed impregnable fortresses, and impress one in a despotic government, with the idea of prisons being a large part of its polity, even in domestic and social life. These, with the espionage of crowds of soldiers, with swords and muskets, at every corner, passports for coming or going, and posts with cannon all round, and the morning and evening guns of the military rule, gave a fair specimen of a military despotism. No native of the island holds the most trivial office, or has a voice in public affairs, judges and magistrates, and officers of all kinds, or their families, and even the troops, must be from the old country."

Here follows a description of a bullfight, which we do not give, not because we disapprove of bullfights as public amusements, but because the bulls, on this occasion, wanted pluck, and showed the "white feather." He then proceeds to the cockfighting which is decidedly rich:

The *Valla de Gallos*, or public cockpits, are situated in a large enclosure outside the walls. They consist of two amphitheatres, with benches around, a roof overhead, and a circular area in the middle. We, however, did not attend the cockfight, but, for the benefit of our readers, copy a graphic description from Dr. Wurdiman: 'To see the cockpit, one must devote to it the Sabbath, the chief day for the exhibition. As I passed along the road to it, I met many mounted moneros. Each had his long sword hanging from his side, and a palm basket under his arm, from which the head and neck of a game-cock protruded; the sides being gently pressed to his body, kept his wings closed, and secured him from being jolted by the horse's motion. It was already past twelve, the hour at which the sport commences, and as I passed through the gate, where stood a man collecting the entrance-money, I saw his table covered by the swords of those who had entered—the carrying any weapon into the pit being prohibited.

"Surrounding this, standing or seated on the amphitheatre of benches, a crowd of whites, mulattoes, and blacks, was assembled, all dressed in clean attire, and intermingled without distinction of color. In a box sat three judges, as dignified as if about to try one of their own species for life or death; while on the faces of the rest, each passing emotion of the mind was freely shown. Indeed, although I had visited all the halls of Paris, the gilded and licensed as well as the obscure cellars in which the lowest did congregate, I had nowhere seen the inmost workings of the gambler's soul more fully exposed than in the

features of these spectators. Here, the warm sons of the South conceal none of the excitement which the game produces: it is only modified by the temperament and education of each individual. The native of old Spain, his heart filled with the most perfect contempt of his Creole neighbors, amid his dignified demeanor, shows by his gestures the interest he feels in the scene before him. The latter, with no such restraint, expresses his feelings as they arise in varied gesticulations and vociferations; while Afric's dusky son, perhaps but lately brought out of his native forests, with all his untamed passions rife within, under the terrible feelings of the gambler, enacts the perfect maniac.

"Two birds were brought in, and, having been weighed, their owners carried them around, bantering the spectators for bets, and occasionally permitting them to peck at each other. The sight of them, with the suddenness of an electric shock, seemed to rouse the latent passion in each bosom, and the place was immediately filled with tumultuous voices. Cries of offered bets resounded on all sides. "*Una once*," on the black, "*una once*," a shake of the finger from one opposite, and the bet was accepted without a word having been exchanged. "*Tres onces por la plata*." "*No! dos onces*," answers one who had only two doubloons. "*Tres onces*, make it up among your friends;" and some adding eighths, some quarters, the sum was completed, and a nod informed the better that his offer was accepted. "*Cinco pesos, cinco pesos por la plata*, five dollars on the silver feathers," cries a stout black, his body bent over the railing, his eyes protruded and arm extended, shaking his forefinger at each person to find one to accept his offer. "*Cinco pesos, cinco pesos*," he vociferates, in gestures and motion a perfect madman. Close by his side, another negro, intent on the same object, and anxious lest his rival should monopolize all the bets, with both arms extended, strives for the market by the force of his voice. Opposing banterers from the backers of the other bird, in loud cries are also heard; and the mingled voices, in a continued din, strike on the pained ear. One is surprised how accounts are kept, for the money is never staked, and no witnesses called; a nod or shake of the finger is the only pledge given, yet disputes never arise about it.

"The bets are now taken, the two birds are pitted, and all but their owners retire without the enclosure. They commence fighting as soon as placed on the ground, and the now silent crowd, with outstretched necks, gaze intently on them. Not a sound is heard, save the blows given by the wings of the birds; but a lucky gash from the spurs of the one sets all voices again going, and odds are freely asked and taken. This was repeated several times, whenever one seemed to gain a decided advantage, until no doubt remained of the victor. The betters then looked on listlessly, as the triumphant bird followed closely his defeated adversary, which, now retreating, now attempting to ward off the blows, faintly and more faintly returned, until, completely exhausted, he sank down, and unresistingly received the continued attacks of the other until life was extinct. The victor now exulted in loud crowings over the dead bird, but he was not long permitted to enjoy his triumph; for the owner, his mouth filled with *aguardiente*, squirted the smarting fluid into his eyes and throat, and on all his wounds, sucking the whole bleeding head repeatedly. The combat lasted near half an hour, for gaffs were not used, but no signs of impatience were exhibited, and but little interest was taken in the fate of the birds themselves, independent of that of the bets connected with them."

Nature and art have combined to render Havana one of the strongest fortresses in the world. We will conclude our article with our author's description of its fortifications. We habitually undervalue all Southern peoples, undervalue ourselves, and slavishly imitate the heavy, dull, coarse, clumsy, tasteless, races of the North. Civilization is an exotic in all cold latitudes. It belongs naturally to temperate climes. It is about to resume its normal, natural, and historical localities. The Mediterranean

latitudes in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the country south of Mason and Dixon's line, is the true and only seat of high civilization—the only region in which man ever did, or ever will arrive at fully developed, intellectual, moral, and physical maturity. He is a sickly exotic in cold countries. France, Italy, Greece, Spain, Cuba, Brazil, and our own Southern Confederacy, are in the ascendant. (The course of trade trends southward, and the march of empire ever follows the course of trade.)

"With a party of ladies and gentlemen, we visited the fortresses of the Moro and the Cabanos, and received the politest attention from the colonel-commandant of the latter, who accompanied us and explained the several departments. The Moro is a strong fort on the top of a limestone rock, and commands the entrance to the bay. It was built in 1633, but was destroyed by the British in 1762. The present structure was then rebuilt. On it is a lighthouse, and within its walls are dungeons for prisoners condemned for grave offences. The Cabanos is the great fortification opposite to Havana, extending around the bay for nearly half a mile. It was forty years in building, chiefly hewn out of the solid blue limestone, and is immensely strong. The barracks are on each side of the extensive *pasco*, and the cells for prisoners, many of whom are sent here; the commandant said there were not less than a thousand at present. There are accommodations for ten thousand troops, and as many more can be provided for in tents, as the area within the walls is very extensive. The water cisterns under it, extend a long distance, and are capable of supplying a long siege. The number of guns mounted is very large, and they are heavy; among them are larger guns, bearing the names of the twelve apostles. The depots of balls covered up by mason-work are numerous, and their quantity must be very large; the magazines of powder are also extensive. The officer, in showing us around, led us through a perfect town in extent, and politely took us to the finest positions on the bastions to enjoy the scenery. The view of Havana is, as he termed it, '*immenso grande*,' and presents a picture of rare beauty. We are not surprised at the pride of the Spaniards in their beautiful island, which, in air and scenery, cannot well be surpassed, and in fortresses is abundantly supplied. The cost of those above-mentioned, is said, hyperbolically, to have been a hundred and sixty millions of dollars, nearly as much as has been proposed to be given by our government for the whole island."

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#### ART. IV.—NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS—THE ISSUES OF THE DAY.

As the germ of the plant determines the nature of the growth and the quality of the fruit, so do the social and political ideas of a people find necessary expression in institutions and civil forms, adapted to the genius and temper of the national mind and spirit; and the same Hand that piled up the mountains and poured out the rivers, to divide men into separate communities, has also imparted to each a distinctive character, mapped out the theatre of its action, determined the laws of its progress, traced the course of its empire, and written the book of its destiny. Calculations of interest, and considerations of policy, prepossessions of prejudice, and intem-

perance of passion, may, for a moment, obscure the fundamental thought, and erect seemingly impregnable barriers to its progress; yet, in the steady evolution of the moral and intellectual forces of society, the original principle, the creative impulse, the all-informing idea, will, ultimately, vindicate its supremacy, and find embodiment in laws and institutions, manners and habits, opinions and prejudices, expressive of the national mind and character. Each nation has a nature of its own, adapted to its climate, its history, its mission. The instant recognition of these peculiarities which constitute its individuality, is the first duty of its statesmanship, and, without which, government is impossible, save on the principle of despotism. And the constitution which fails to recognize these primary elements, these fundamental facts, is but so much waste parchment—so many ambitious resolves traced in water.

All *written* constitutions of government are but so many *experiments* on the political nature of man. Constitutions worthy the name—constitutions embodying the high thoughts and lofty destinies of a race—constitutions challenging the admiration of philosophy, and exciting the pride of patriotism—are ever grand, *improvised* dramas, stretching along the historic course of centuries, representing the various stages of the national advancement, and illustrating the spirit of the civilization, and the quality of the social forces that underlie the movements of the political life by the facility with which it converts revolutionary tendencies and passions, into elements of national strength and progress, through the modifying influence and controlling power of organic institutional action. Civilization implies progress, and progress perpetual revolution, hurrying government and society, with rapid movement, along the career of empire, and ending in disaster and ruin, unless held in check by the conservative power of institutions acting through constitutional forms, imposed by the ideas, passions, and political necessities, of a people united together in civil union by community of opinion and feeling, by homogeneity of interest, by identity of pursuit, purpose, and destiny—all forming the grand conception of national unity and political individuality. Institutions, more than climate and race, determine the question of nationality, and draw the line of separation between distinct communities and alien authorities; and a political constitution, founded upon other bases than institutional forms, with its prospective action to be determined and controlled by the will of numerical majorities, is an

instrument, merely provisional in its nature, revolutionary in its tendency, and destructive in its consequences. Nationality is political individualism, and political individualism the harmonious aggregation and combination of social institutions, resting on the experience, wants, and necessities of man, considered as a political animal. This sentiment of nationality, growing up under the shadow of institutions, stronger and more enduring in their influence than the principle of race itself, is the basis of all that is great and glorious in the records of a people, and gives it, according to the degree of fidelity with which it preserves the original spirit and fundamental idea, a place of high honor and influence among the powers of the earth. The English Reformation had its origin in this sentiment of political nationality, when that spirited nation declared that Englishmen, and not Italians, should be appointed to the bishoprics and benefices of that realm; and all the great revolutions that have marked the history of the world, have had their sources in the defence and vindication of the national integrity, as expressed in institutions of vital, organic growth, and founded in the sentiments and passions of a people united by community of feeling, principle, and interest.

The French Revolution, which grew out of a violation of the constitution by the crown, in suppressing the institution of the ancient parliaments, and the exemption of the nobility from taxation, illustrated the importance of always identifying the government with the nation, and the constitution with the government. The object of that revolution was to restore the ancient constitution, and make the government the exponent of the united interests of the nation; but with the decree that made the national assembly a unit, without distinction of rank or subordination of authority, came the overthrow of the nobility, and there was no *institution* left standing that could guide and control the democratic spirit, and save it from the self-destruction it always works when left unchecked by conservative restraints. The institutional life of France ceased with the revolution of 1789, and, although Napoleon represented the heroic impulses and chivalrous passions of that susceptible people, yet his government never had a foundation on their deliberate political sentiments and convictions. The fundamental idea of French civilization is monarchy, tempered by aristocracy; and never will she realize a regular scheme of free government, till she return to legitimacy, and engraft upon her constitution the institution of an hereditary senate, resting upon territorial power. The revolution of 1848, that



hurled Louis Philippe from his throne, would never have occurred had the constitution of the Barricades created a landed aristocracy, to act as a counterpoise to the power of the crown, and a breakwater against the violence of democratic impulse. The present emperor will succeed in maintaining his power by the arbitrary means through which it was acquired; but there will never be a Napoleon IV. And if the Duke de Joinville be wise, when, in the future, he shall be called to take his seat upon the throne of his ancestors, he will restore the ancient constitution of France, amended and modified to suit the genius of modern civilization. A great people can only be governed in accordance with its fundamental ideas and institutions.

The American Revolution found two systems of civilization existing on the western continent—uniting, but never mingling—meeting, but never coalescing—co-operating, but never sympathizing—separate, distinct, antagonistic, and repellent, and forced into the presence of each other by the absence of that greatest of political necessities—an efficient government. They formed two distinct peoples—two separate nationalities; and the compact that bound them together, under the authority of one common government, however admirable and serviceable as a defensive league, was viewed as a political contrivance; an experiment of doubtful wisdom. To reconcile these two peoples—to identify their social systems—to harmonize their conflicting views, interests, and institutions—was the first and most difficult labor of American statesmanship—an end pursued with equal zeal by the Federal and Republican parties—the former by striving to raise the nation up to the Constitution, the latter by bringing the Constitution down to the level of the popular will—but both failing, signally failing, to achieve an impossible result. The dissolution of the American Union was written in the Declaration of Independence, and foreshadowed in every provision of the Federal Constitution. Revolutionary statesmanship can never found other than revolutionary government; and the ideas and passions that triumph, and acquire temporary influence and power, during periods of convulsion and change, are not to be trusted as safe counsellors when the moment arrives for establishing political structures that are to endure for all time—a truth most signally exemplified in the *majority* Constitution, bottomed upon universal suffrage, that united, under one authority, the States of the American Union. The Roundhead and Cavalier that had crossed swords under the hostile

banners of Fairfax and Rupert, met again, on American soil ; and when the battle was fought, in the convention of 1787, the victory, as of old, remained with the saints of the covenant. It was in that memorable and fatal contest that the banner of the Cavalier first went down, in his concession to the enemy of the right to regulate the basis of Southern representation, by striking two fifths of the numerical power of the South from the map of the Constitution—an arrogant assumption, and high-handed act of injustice, that should have been promptly met by the Southern delegates with the demand—"five fifths or none!"—and then the South would have had no Nasebys, no Edghills, no Marston Moors, to look back upon, as mournful memorials of former humiliation and defeat—no Rump parliaments to oppress her with partial and arbitrary legislation—no fanatical Praise-God Barebones to convert her council-halls into a synod of the elect. But there will yet be a "restoration day," when the great heart of a loyal and patriotic people will rise up against the usurper, and place the lawful and long-exiled heir of a banished line on the throne of legitimacy. It will not come in a day ; it will not be unattended by many trials, sufferings, and privations. It will encounter the fierce opposition and armed resistance of the reigning power ; it will find bitter enemies in professed friends ; it will be cursed and denounced by the traitor and the spy ; and will receive no countenance or support from those miserable minions and parasites of power, whose principles and patriotism alike lead them to declare there is none so great as Diana of the Ephesians. Yet the day will come ; and the *white flag* of peace, the proud emblem of *Southern* unity, nationality, and power, will float over an empire of equal laws, just rights, united interests, and kindred aims, hopes, and destinies.

Society, considered apart from government, is unchangeable in its nature, and remains always the same, as respects the general principles by which it is regulated, and the character, feelings, and wants of the beings who compose it ; and whatever may be the theory of the political constitution that dire necessities may have forced upon its adoption, as a choice between acknowledged evils, it becomes a mere nullity, when its action is made to repress the vital forces of the social life, and subordinate them to the reckless and ambitious schemes of factious power. Hungary, Ireland, and Poland, have still left them a social life, but where is their once proud nationality ? Lost in that universal and inevitable doom that awaits

all *minority sections* of powerful empire, that prefer union to independence—servitude to freedom. To secure the ends of government, and realize the idea of nationality, the political must be adapted to the social system, and the institutional life be made to preponderate over the social and political, when the latter seek to identify themselves with civil forms, based upon abstract notions of human liberty and popular rights. Southern society presents an anomaly in the history of civilization; it exhibits the spectacle of a permanent aristocracy, founded upon the natural diversity of races, patiently subjecting itself to the wildest schemes of democratic theory; and with the superior advantages of a wonderfully adjusted system of organized labor, and a powerful and enlightened people, possessed of all the elements of political unity, national individuality, and independent sovereignty, quietly surrendering the principle of self-rule, and receiving the superimposed ideas, doctrines, and practices of a foreign, hostile, and revolutionary polity. The markedly institutional character of Southern civilization gives it a vital strength and energy that nothing but the most shameful and treasonable incivism can ever break; and suggests, for its governance, a political form better adapted to the requirements and exigencies of its social condition—a constitution embodying the genius, spirit, and character—the ideas, principles, and passions—the desires, feelings, and prejudices, of a people, united and made one, by the force of a common destiny. Governments worthy the name, can not be created by national decrees or popular resolves; they must be *lived* and *acted*; they must be produced by the vital action of the laws of social dynamics, and evolved by the outworking of the spiritual forces of society, seeking embodiment in permanent organic laws and institutions. Government is free and enlightened in proportion as its powers are controlled by the action of institutions subordinating opinion, and as it possesses the ability to effect ready compromises between the antagonist principles of liberty and authority. The movement of the social forces is never upward, but always downward; and a government commencing in democracy, must end in anarchy, despotism, and ruin, through its inability of ascending to the higher forms; but constitutions, originating in the aristocratic, or monarchical principle, and endowed with greater vitality and more enduring powers of resistance, that enable them to survive through long centuries, yet destined themselves, finally, to fall before the power of numbers, unless the right to vote be made synony-

mous with the capacity to think, and the demands of labor be made to harmonize with the interests of capital.

The doom of Rienzi was pronounced in the adulations of the multitude that elevated him to power—the fate of the British government is foreshadowed in the schemes of the reformers, and the dissolution of the American Union written in the instrument that undertook to erect one nation out of two irreconcilable peoples, and found a republican government on the basis of free labor. In this view, Southern society possesses the no less wonderful property of being adapted to every possible form of government; and the Constitution which Southern statesmanship has been compelled to repudiate as a bond of union between two separate nations, is singularly fitted to harmonize with the genius, express the spirit, and embody the character of Southern civilization. The Federal Constitution was modelled upon the scheme of the English polity, which had its origin in the subjection of the Saxon to the authority of the master race, the imperial Norman; but political imitations never succeed, unless all the conditions of the social problem be observed; and the enactment that made the American colonies one nation, under a republican government, has become obsolete, and carries with it its own most emphatic annulment. When the martial age, in English history, expired with the fallen glories of the great earl of Warwick, and the commercial era dawned, with the ascendancy of the house of Lancaster, that same revolutionary movement was imparted to the British constitution that is now witnessed in the American government: the commercial spirit scheming the overthrow of the agricultural power—the force of numbers aspiring to the control of institutions, and fanaticism urging on the fierce war of classes, sections, and interests; but the *fons et principium* of the British constitution being located in powerful institutions, capable, at times, of overawing the authority of government itself, liberty and order were preserved in the nation while revolution was going on in the government; and, on the great chessboard of state, knights and pawns were not permitted to hold in check both king and castle. In the American scheme, by reason of the immaturity of political thought, and the general equality of social conditions, these elements of institutional power and political stability were suppressed, and the “fierce democratie” entered, untrammelled, upon the perilous career of political self-rule and unrestrained power. Begotten in convulsion, and brought forth in revolution, the young government received the bap-

tism of blood, and had early run the brief course of empire, had not the conservative counterpoise of the three-fifths Southern representation preserved, for a time, the political body from the destruction of the social forces. But now, even, that feeble check is gone, and the Southern States live no longer under the ægis of the Federal Constitution. Outpost after outpost has been surrendered to the enemy—now, the citadel itself is attacked. What lies in the future the wisest dare not say; but the two civilizations that sprang up under the charter and proprietary governments, and essayed the experiment of a dual nationality, are finally and fatally severed, and each is thrown back on the fortunes and resources of individual empire. The bond of ancient associations is broken; traditionary memories have ceased to kindle the enthusiasm of a common patriotism; the voices of the dead past appeal vainly to the passionate excitements and morbid impulses of the living present, and, on every wind, are borne the sullen utterances and prophetic tones of impending revolution. That revolution was twin-born with the decree that spake the republic into existence. Hidden from view, for a time, by exaggerated conceptions of the magnitude of the public dangers, and smothered under the weight of accumulated compromises, its fires were thought to be subdued; but, flaming up, under each new cause of public excitement, and fanned into intenser heat, by the breath of fanaticism, it has now broken out into a fearful and unextinguishable conflagration.

The revolutionary leaders, confounding the functions of legislation with the offices of statesmanship, and mistaking a transient, social state for a permanent political condition, found no wisdom in the philosophy of the past capable of explaining the phenomena, or giving direction to the new ideas of the present, and made the future ages parties to a compact, whose very terms permitted it not to look beyond the limits of a few brief generations. Enthroned in state and invested with the imperial purple of absolute power, the democratic principle, with dark Ate at its side, and fresh from the fields of European carnage and bloodshed, where it had written its triumphs in deeds of darkness and crime, and defied all authority, either human or divine, now assumed the control of the destinies of the New World, and pronounced from the beginning null and void the instrument created to impose a restraint upon its excesses. Radical, levelling, and revolutionary—intolerant, proscriptive, and arbitrary—violent, remorseless, and sanguinary—its course has been tending constantly downward, from



the promulgation of the doctrine of "natural rights" and the theory of social and political equality, down through all the contrivances of party craft, and all the schemes of demagogical art, as expressed in the laws of universal suffrage—abrogation of entails—popular judicatures—State repudiation—to that latest fledgling of the prolific harpy nest, that, under the name of "popular sovereignty," perches itself upon the battlements of the Constitution, and batters on the sores and corruptions of the body politic. The constitutional legislators, in the very attempt they made to merge the two civilizations into one, achieved a no higher political result than to found a provisional and temporary government; they acknowledged it to be nothing but an experiment; and, in that candid and honest confession, betrayed a higher wisdom than was displayed in the genius of the system that emanated from their hands, and should of itself suffice to silence the voices of those pretentious party oracles that imagine themselves to be uttering deep things of wisdom, when, with dark denunciations, they declare to the idolatrous and superstitious multitude there is nothing great but this magnificent Union. One brief decade had scarcely ceased to rock the cradle of the infant Constitution before a convention was held, at Hartford, to change the character of the government; and the Bishop of Osnaburg, a scion of English royalty, was spoken of as the person who would be called to fill the throne of America—so early in the history of the government had the democratic principle commenced to provoke, by its workings, the opposition and hostility of those social forces, that, in all governments, are found to revolve around permanent, but isolated centres—showing that the Revolution had founded nothing stable, and, by allying the government with the democratic principle, had multiplied itself indefinitely. This movement originated in, and was confined to, the Eastern States, where a manufacturing and commercial aristocracy was early taught to know the dangers attending all democratic societies, based upon the principle of free labor, and, in order to quiet these elements of disorder and revolution in their own bosoms, these States, through the instrumentality of a common government, levied a tax on the products of slave labor, sufficient to enable the Northern capitalist to meet the demands of free labor, and preserve their social system from the evils of periodical convulsion.

All antagonisms contain the germs of revolution, whether they be oppositions of opinion, principle, or interest; whether

they be founded on abstractions, expressed in ideas, or embodied in institutions. Revolution has, therefore, been going on, in American society, from the very foundation of the government; now concealing itself under compromises, now assuming the shape of party designations, now achieving its ends by partial and insidious legislation, now openly disclosing itself in the designs and delusions of fanaticism and demagogism, and is destined to continue till its active and efficient cause—the democratic spirit—shall have conducted government and society to that fatal point where revolution ends and convulsion, and anarchy, and confusion, begin the work of destruction. The two civilizations never had anything in common but mutual hatreds and antipathies, even during that period when their blood mingled in one stream, on every battle-field, and when their statesmen entertained not markedly dissimilar views concerning the moral and social bearings of a question that neither of them could, at that day, comprehend, and which has since, through that very ignorance, become the prolific source of dissensions never to be quieted, and agitations and convulsions without end. They stand to-day as they stood on the morning of the Revolution, save that the Southern section has become demoralized by a debasing alliance, and has lost much of that proud, chivalrous, and unconquerable spirit, that once drove her great leaders into rebellion, and sustained her armies through all the trials and vicissitudes of war. The political association that essayed to make the two sections a united people defeated its own ends, by giving the nation a revolutionary government, and building its hopes of permanency on the shifting sands of compromise. Compromise implies perfect equality of the contracting powers, and when that equality is lost compromise means insult, humiliation, overthrow—anything that may be construed to express the dark designs or cover the licentious schemes of drunken power.

This revolutionary movement that has been going on in the American polity, from the very inception of the government, gathering strength from each new concession, and emboldened by the feeble resistance offered by the weaker power, has been unmarked by records of violence and blood, not from an absence of those dark passions, that are ever swift to give to bloody thought the name of sanguinary action, but rather through the influence of that peculiar temper of the modern age, that has, in the affairs of powerful states, made diplomacy assume the place and function of war, and given to

state protocols and cabinet decrees the moral force and suasion that the genius of a former age had placed in the *brutum fulmen* of masses of armed men. The sword has been hung up to rust in feudal halls, and the *shell*, whose eternal story is told in the fate of Aristides, has cursed the world with a race of demagogues, whose rule is more hateful and debasing than the absolutism of the sultans. But better, far better, had it been for the South—for the destinies of the race—for the cause of civilization and the interests of humanity, had the controversy of 1820 been settled by secession rather than compromise and concession. To concede the part of a right is to admit the invalidity of the whole, and under a majority constitution, where might is made right, conciliation is but another name for surrender and submission; and revolution begins with the triumph of force. With all its attendant evils—with all its tragic horrors—with all its mighty retinue of sorrows, sufferings, and disasters—war—civil war—war of kindred races—is not the greatest calamity that can befall a people:—there is yet a mightier, a more overwhelming misfortune—loss of independence—extinction of nationality—feiture of honor—abandonment of right—sacrifice of principle:—these shadow a doom more terrible than death. The revolution has been a bloodless one, yet not for that less fatal and destructive in its effects upon the *morale* and spirit of the South than if humbled by sword and flame beneath the yoke of the conqueror. There is in war a sublime and awful beauty—a fearful and terrible loveliness—that atones in deeds of high enterprise and acts of heroic valor for the carnage, the desolation, the slaughter, and covers even defeat with the lustre that belongs to courageous but unsuccessful action; but in the rude strifes, contests, and collisions of vast masses of hostile opinion, led on under the banners of peace, by the puissant passions and interests of the hour, and decided by the dull, brute force of overwhelming numbers—there are all the degradation and debasement belonging to defeat without the honorable scars in front, to show how dearly bought was the triumph.

The painful and exciting drama now being enacted on the theatre of American politics, shifting its scenes with the fortunes of parties, and changing its characters with the progress of power, is none other than that revolution, ever wrought, and that triumph, ever gained, by the enthronement of the democratic principle. The fourth act has closed, and the fifth, big with the fate of empires, now hurries on the end.

The dance, the song, the revel of the drunken chorus, is heard in the distance, and they tell the doom of the Cavalier; but out of revolution springs counter-revolution, and the very passions relied upon by force and injustice to uphold and consolidate their power, are the earliest agents to conspire their overthrow. Twenty years the English people endured the absolutism of Cromwell; twenty years the American colonies forebore to seek redress by force of arms; twenty years the Southern States have submitted to the persistent encroachments and lawless usurpations of a fanatical majority, and the two civilizations now find their histories written in the parallel. All revolutions have their ultimate foundation in the question of property, and the government that fails to protect it has already perished. A political party, denying that *persons are property*, and by force of numbers preparing to found upon that dogma a permanent tyranny, is about to be elevated, under regular, *constitutional* forms, to the supreme power of the nation. In view of the fact, there can be, to all true Southern men, but one question—Shall this *revolutionary majority* Constitution exercise further jurisdiction over *Southern* soil?

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#### ART. V.—TABLE TALK: SYDNEY SMITH—COLERIDGE—LUTHER.

It has often been said of Dr. Samuel Johnson, that he talked better than he wrote. All men talk better than they write, because they talk naturally and write artificially; and further because the intellect is excited into livelier and healthier action by conversation. Let any man try the experiment of talking to himself, and he will find he does not talk half so well as if he were conversing with even a child or a negro. We have lived always in a large family, and practised law for twenty-five years, and have become so accustomed to writing and reading with noisy talk around us, that silence or solitude diverts our attention, just as the stopping of the mill awakens the miller. We speak most readily to an enlightened auditory, and when our subject is high and difficult, write much best when some very intelligent person is in the room, with whom we feel, while we write, as if we were communing in thought. All lawyers who have practised long have the same peculiarities with ourselves, although few have discerned it by subjecting their intellectual activity to abstract self-examination. Any man of decent mind might be immortalized if he could

only get a Boswell; but, alas! the world has seen but one Boswell, and may never see another. Truth is far more interesting than fiction; but it is easy to write fiction, the highest reach of the most gifted genius to depict truth. One must not relate and describe everything, but seize upon the salient and characteristic points, like the landscape painter, and omit, or slur over, what is commonplace or immaterial. To give one side of a conversation, without describing the occasion, circumstances, and *dramatis personæ*, is not only to do injustice to the colloquist, but absolutely, by omission, to falsify what he said. Such is the *pretended* table talk of Luther and Coleridge. We have detached sentences, torn from their connection, which sometimes convey no meaning, and never the full and exact meaning intended by the speaker, and as understood by the companions whom he addressed. Such table talk is a most abominable libel on the memory of the dead. Conversation is far more interesting than writing; so much more so, that to converse is the chief enjoyment of all men, and to read the most irksome task to most men. He who could daggerreotype the commonest talk, with all the attendant persons and circumstances, would be more read than any author now extant. This would be to paint nature faithfully, with man in the foreground. Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, and Burns, approach nearest to this model, and they are the greatest of authors. There is a volatile *aroma* in table talk, that escapes like the flavor of the champagne and the cigars. To preserve the "*ipsissima verba*," is to do little more than to keep the dead heeltaps of the champagne, or the stumps of the cigars. "*Volat irrevocabile verbum*;" but the loss of the words is nothing compared to the loss of gesture, expression, character, and the enlivened spirit of the occasion, where the flashes of wit and humor outsparkle the lamps, "*et crebris miscat ignibus æther!*" Burns gives an idea of the pleasurable excitement of such a scene, when he says:

"Kings may be blessed, but Tam was glorious,  
O'er all the ills of life victorious!"

Men talk best under moderate excitement brought about by conversation, not by liquor. Dr. Johnson only drank tea, and Mr. Calhoun, the ablest talker we ever heard, never exceeded one or two glasses of champagne, and did not touch ardent spirit. Coleridge was always drunk, and talked maudlin metaphysics, equally unintelligible to himself and his audience. Calhoun always spoke and talked metaphysics, too, but so



clearly and distinctly that a child could understand him. Men of genius are inexcusable for drinking liquor; they are naturally excited, born drunk, and continue so through life. Such was the case with Bonaparte, Brougham, Macaulay, Calhoun, and all men of great intellectual energy and activity. Genius indwelling in man makes him restless, and when liquor is added to it, often makes him insane. Silas Wright and Daniel Webster each possessed the highest order of intellect, but no genius. They needed artificial excitement, and we suspect a pint of brandy would have just poised and balanced their judgment, and given fluency to their tongue—a gill would probably have crazed Calhoun or Bonaparte.

We study the "Rambler," and "Junius," and Macaulay, and Sir James Mackintosh, to improve our style. We try to write as differently from them as possible, for certainly we never met anything so unlike human speech as their writings, and writing should be nothing more than human speech committed to paper—table talk in print. We try to write as sensible men talk.

The first volume of Sydney Smith's Memoirs is quite Boswellian, and is most interesting and improving reading. The second volume contains his letters, and is a most detestable book, for a worse letter-writer never lived. He was a humorist rather than a wit; but in his letters is ever trying to play the volatile, agreeable, lively, and witty, and ever failing. 'Tis as painful to read his letters as to witness the affected gayety and galvanic playfulness of a *passé* old maid—almost as bad as the grinning of a corpse.

Sydney Smith became a clergyman, not from choice, but because his father insisted he should do so. He appears to have been active, useful, and conscientious, in his profession, if not very zealous. He possessed strong resolution, much energy, great self-command, a wonderful facility of adapting himself to all circumstances and all associations, discriminating and comprehensive common sense, and clear and strong moral, political, and religious convictions. He was a man, too, of much learning and genius, but his intuitive sagacity and cool common sense restrained him from unduly relying on them, exhibiting or exercising them. He was probably the most intelligent, if not the most intellectual man connected with the "Edinburgh Review," but as he was a moderate reformer, and never pushed theories to extremes, he never acquired the character of a profound thinker or reasoner. Probably he saw that all profound thought or speculation leads to error, when

it passes the bounds of the actual and the existing and attempts the creative. Profound thought, in moral science, may detect errors in the application of old truths, but can never discern new truths. Those who go in search of new truths in morals are all Utopians, like our modern socialists. Such were Jeffrey and Brougham, and most of the other distinguished contributors to the "Edinburgh Review." Smith was continually checking their radicalism in politics, in skepticism, in religion. The man who in early life discerns that the moral world around him is, in the main, pretty much situated as it should be, and admits of but few and gradual changes and reforms, or that, at worst, it is a far better world than he could make, had he a *carte blanche* for doing so, will be saved from doing an infinitude of mischief, but will lose all reputation for genius, profundity, and originality. Your genius is the man, like Tom Jefferson, who is equally ready to reverse the prescriptive and established order of things in heaven and on earth, and to conduct all things, mundane and divine, on new and improved principles. Although such a man blunders at every step, and does much harm to society, yet he never forfeits his character for profound thought, wonderful originality, and great genius. Washington and Sydney Smith will never be considered intellectually able men, because they took the world as they found it, and did not presumptuously attempt to make a new and better one. Brougham, and Jefferson, and Fanny Wright, Abbé Siezes, the abolitionists and socialists, with all their ridiculous failures and absurd theories, are admired for their wonderful talents, and considered extremely profound, simply because they are extremely presumptuous and eccentric.

There is another and a better reason why Sydney Smith was never profound or original. He, like Dr. Samuel Johnson, was remarkable for the strength of his convictions and opinions on religious, moral, and political subjects. He felt it to be a crime to indulge in argument or speculation as to the right or wrong of our common and established notions on these subjects. He was learned enough to know that the common opinion on these subjects was based upon the authority, the wisdom, the learning, and the experience of the whole civilized human race that has preceded us. What he could not understand or account for, he was willing to accept as true, because he found it generally accepted, and therefore natural. He would not set up his own feeble and fallible reason in opposition to the order of nature, the authority and experience of the

past, the teachings of the Bible, and the ways of God. He was not profound, because he took many things on trust. Yet the truly learned and profound always discover that they can investigate no moral subject without relying on human authority, and taking many things as true, merely because they find them recorded as true. It is only ignorant, presumptuous, pedantic charlatans, like Ben Franklin and Tom Paine, who attempt to discover all truth for themselves.

Sydney Smith was by far the ablest man who had to do with the "Edinburgh Review" at its inception; but his breadth of learning, his truth, conscientiousness, and prudence, restrained him from the rash and criminal speculations that have built up the fame of Jeffrey and Brougham. He could have speculated as profoundly as a Hume or a Berkeley, but would not follow the lead of philosophy beyond the bounds of common sense, established morality, or Christian faith. Truly able men discover that philosophical principles are all false when carried to their ultimate conclusions. Philosophy can easily demonstrate that *all* is false and unreal, existence itself a mere dream; but who but a madman believes philosophy.

Coleridge was the very antipode of Smith. The world concluded that he was a great genius because he was wholly destitute of common sense. He, Southey, and some others, started in life with the purpose of setting up a communistic establishment on the Susquehannah. They called their social scheme "Pantisocracy." They had not a cent to begin with, yet it never occurred to them that money was needed to bring over and plant a colony. Men who were weak enough to overlook the pecuniary obstacles in their way, might well overlook the philosophical, practical, natural, and historical objections to their social programme. Yet this early piece of folly gave these hairbrained men a reputation for genius that lasted them through life.

Southey and Coleridge both began life as political radicals, and both soon became tories. Coleridge did not cease to be radical in becoming a tory. Throughout life he was vainly grasping at the *perfect* and the *universally true*. There is hardly a wise, prudent, or practical suggestion in his whole works. He was always at war with nature, because he found in nature evil mixed with good, and he was trying to expel evil altogether. He was never satisfied with the expedient, the *right*, under given circumstances, but endeavoring to discover the exact line of truth and rectitude, under all circumstances. Man, if his heart and principles be sound, always

knows what is right to-day, but never can foresee what will be right to-morrow. He has to weigh circumstances as they arise, and feel his way through life, guided by religious faith, and natural and healthy common sense. He will not be the whit the better, or the wiser, for studying ethics, or any other branch of moral science.

Coleridge used opium to great excess, and there is an obscurity and dreaminess about his thoughts that may have been partly owing to this habit. Yet we think partial insanity was congenital with him. The madhouses are filled with men who have gone crazy from the continued effort to solve insoluble problems in moral or physical science; and the world is full of half-crazy folks, engaged in the same hopeless pursuit. They are the bores of society, and we are always glad to hear when any of them have gone clean daft mad, and been sent to the lunatic asylum. We ought to have a half-way house, a sort of purgatorial asylum, for such as Coleridge, who are just crazy enough to be useless to themselves and very troublesome to society. Reader! have you not half a dozen acquaintances of this half-crazy kind, whom you are afraid to meet, lest they should torture you with their silly schemes. We are sure we have fifty, and we live in perpetual dread and horror of them.

It was cruel enough in Coleridge to bore the world in his lifetime with his tedious and half-meaning "Table Talk," inexcusable, in his relative, to preserve that talk as an instrument of intellectual torture for posterity. We shall not follow his example, by quoting any part of it. We will not inflict on our readers "cruel and unusual punishment."

Sydney Smith commenced life as a country curate in England, but soon removed to Edinburgh. His daughter gives the following agreeable description of Edinburgh literary society at that period:

"In the year 1797, the period, I believe, at which my father arrived in Edinburgh with his pupil, Mr. Beach, that city was rich in talent, full of men who have acted important parts while they lived, and many of whom have left names that will live after them: Jeffrey, Horner, Playfair, Walter Scott, Dugald Stewart, Brougham, Allen, Brown, Murray, Leyden, Lord Webb Seymour, Lord Woodhouselee, Alison, Sir James Hall, and many others.

"Society at that time in Edinburgh was upon the most easy and agreeable footing; the Scotch were neither rich nor ashamed of being poor, and there was not that struggle for display which so much diminishes the charm of London life, and has, with the increase of wealth, now crept into that of Edinburgh. Few days passed without the meeting of some of these friends, either in each other's houses, or (in what was then very common) oyster cellars, where, I am told, the most delightful little suppers used to be given, at which every subject was discussed, with a freedom impossible in larger societies, and with a candor which is only found where men fight for truth, and not for victory."

The following is Mr. Smith's account of the setting up of the "Edinburgh Review":

"Toward the end of my residence in Edinburgh (in 1800), Brougham, Jeffrey, and myself, happened to meet in the eighth or ninth story or flat in Buccleugh Place, the elevated residence of the then Mr. Jeffrey. I proposed that we should set up a review; this was acceded to with acclamation. I was appointed editor, and remained long enough in Edinburgh to edit the first number of the 'Review.' The motto I proposed for the 'Review' was: *Tenui musam meditamur avena.* We cultivate literature on a little oatmeal.' But this was too near the truth to be admitted, so we took our present grave motto from Publius Syrus, of whom none of us had, I am sure, read a single line; and so began, what has since turned out to be, a very important and able journal. When I left Edinburgh it fell into the stronger hands of Lords Jeffrey and Brougham, and reached the highest point of popularity and success."

Sydney Smith removed about this time to London, where he lived for many years. His society was courted by the learned, the refined, and the aristocratic. He, and his family, moved in the highest circles, and habitually enjoyed all the social and intellectual pleasures peculiar to that circle. Suddenly, he is appointed to a secluded, and more than half-savage parish in Yorkshire. In truth, the country people of England, if not savages, are something much lower and less interesting than savages: and such are the peasantry of all Europe. The manner in which Smith and his family accommodate themselves to their new circumstances is the best commentary we have ever read on married life. It shows that happiness is only to be found at home, and that no matter what that home be, if father, husband, children, and servants, love one another, and will work together, they may defy the taunts and sneers of the outer world. We will give a long extract, which we think will cure old bachelors of the error of their ways, and prove to them that the highest and most rational happiness is readily attainable by any family, who will only pull together. In 1816, the wheat in Northern England did not mature, and for a whole year Mr. Smith's family had no bread, yet they lived happily and contentedly on a miserable substitute for bread. We have not a single family in the United States with more of refinement or intelligence than that of Mr. Smith's. Yet the aristocratic parvenus of Fifth Avenue, in New-York, and the aristocratic negroes at the South, would feel disgraced if they had not, at all times, both meat and bread. The Smiths boast of living without bread. Is there a negro in the South, or a snob, boss, or one of the "upper ten," in a Northern city, who would acknowledge that he was ever in want? In truth, our negroes and the Northern aristocracy think that nobility and respectability consist en-



tirely in having a plenty to eat, and drink, and wear. There certainly is nothing higher than the lowest animal nature in vogue among Southern negroes or Northern exclusives. It is true there is at the North a large unobtrusive class of literary men, merchants, manufacturers, and professional men, of modest worth, who do not belong to the swell mob. But they, who give tone to society at the North, and in Europe, in London, Paris, and Edinburgh, as well as in New-York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati, are the millionaires who are only distinguished for gross sensuality, ignorance, want of taste and refinement, and enormous expenditure. The aristocracy of the South is an aristocracy of caste and privilege. The well-educated, moral, and refined white citizen stands at the head of society, whether he be rich or poor. Wealth never redeems ignorance and vulgarity, or elevates meanness, at the South. Seeing this, our wealthy men are never ostentatious, for the ostentation of wealth lowers a man in public esteem and social standing, with us. We have an *actual* aristocracy, the aristocracy of color, and power, and privilege; and will ever despise the mere pseudo-aristocracy of money. But to our extract:

"All my efforts for an exchange having failed, I asked and obtained from my friend the archbishop, another year to build in; and I then set my shoulder to the wheel in good earnest: sent for an architect; he produced plans that would have ruined me. I made him my bow, 'You build for glory, sir; I for use.' I returned him his plans, with five-and-twenty pounds, and sat down in my thinking chair, and in a few hours Mrs. Sydney and I had concocted a plan which has produced, what I call, the model of a parsonage house.

"I then took to horse to provide bricks and timber; was advised to make my own bricks, of my own clay; of course, when the kiln was opened, all bad; mounted my horse again, and in twenty-four hours had bought thousands of bricks and tons of timber. Was advised by neighboring gentlemen to employ oxen; bought four. Tug and Lug, Hawl and Crawl; but Tug and Lug took to fainting, and required buckets of *sal volatile*, and Hawl and Crawl to lie down in the mud. So I did as I ought to have done at first, took the advice of the farmer instead of the gentleman; sold my oxen, bought a team of horses, and at last, in spite of a frost which delayed me six weeks, in spite of walls running down with wet, in spite of the advice and remonstrances of friends, who predicted our death, in spite of an infant of six months old, who had never been out of the house, I landed my family in my new house, nine months after having laid the first stone, on the 20th March; and performed my promise to the letter to the archbishop, by issuing forth at midnight with a lantern to meet the last cart, with the cook and the cat, which had stuck in the mud; and fairly established them, before twelve o'clock at night, in the new parsonage house—a feat, taking ignorance, inexperience, and poverty, into consideration, requiring, I assure you, no small degree of energy.

"It made me a very poor man for many years, but I never repented it. I turned schoolmaster, to educate my son, as I could not afford to send him to school. Mrs. Sydney turned schoolmistress to educate the girls, as I could not afford a governess. I turned farmer, as I could not let my land. A man-servant was too expensive, so I caught up a little garden-girl, made like a milestone,

christened her Bunch, put a napkin in her hand, and made her my butler. The girls taught her to read, Mrs. Sydney to wait, and I undertook her morals; Bunch became the best butler in the county.

"I had little furniture, so I bought a cart-load of deals, took a carpenter (who came to me for parish relief) called Jack Robinson, with a face like a full moon, into my service, established him in a barn, said to him, 'Jack, furnish my house.' You see the result.

"At last it was suggested that a carriage was much wanted in the establishment. After a diligent search, I discovered, in the back settlements of a York coachmaker, an ancient green chariot, supposed to have been the earliest invention of the kind. I brought it home in triumph to my admiring family. Being somewhat dilapidated, the village tailor lined it, the village blacksmith repaired it, nay (but for Mrs. Sydney's earnest entreaties), we believe the village painter would have exercised his genius upon the exterior. It escaped this danger, however, and the result was wonderful. Each year added to its charms; it grew younger and younger: a new wheel; a new spring. I christened it the *Immortal*; it was known all over the neighborhood; the village boys cheered it, and the village dogs barked at it; but '*Faber mea fortuna*' was my motto; we had no false shame.

"Added to all these domestic cares, I was village parson, village doctor, village comforter, village magistrate, and Edinburgh Reviewer; so you see I had not much time left on my hands to regret London."

The following is a description by his daughter of similar occurrences, equally graphic, lively, and instructing:

"At last, however, the deed was done, and I well remember the landing at Foston, March, 1814. Indeed how should I forget it? A day of such difficulty, discomfort, bustle, and delight, seldom occurs twice in one life.

"It was a cold, bright March day, with a biting east wind. The beds we left in the morning had to be packed up and slept on at night; wagon after wagon of furniture poured in every minute; the roads were so cut up that the carriage could not reach the door; and my mother lost her shoe in the mud, which was ankle deep, while bringing her infant up to the house in her arms.

"But oh! the shout of joy as we entered and took possession! The first time in our lives that we had inhabited a house of our own. How we admired it, ugly as it was! With what pride my dear father welcomed us, and took us from room to room, old Molly Mills, the milkwoman, who had charge of the house, grinning with delight in the background. We thought it a palace; yet the drawing-room had no door, the bare plaster walls ran down with wet, the windows were like ground glass, from the moisture that had to be wiped up several times a day by the housemaid. No carpets, no chairs, nothing unpacked; rough men bringing in rougher packages at every moment. But then was the time to behold my father! Amidst the confusion he thought for everybody, cared for everybody, encouraged everybody, kept everybody in good humor. How he exerted himself! how his loud, rich voice might be heard in every direction, ordering, arranging, explaining, till the household storm gradually subsided! Each half hour improved our condition; fires blazed in every room. At last we all sat down to our tea, spread by ourselves on a huge package before the drawing-room fire, sitting on boxes round it, and retired to sleep on our beds placed on the floor, the happiest, merriest, and busiest family in Christendom. In a few days, under my father's active exertions, everything was arranged with tolerable comfort in the little household, and it began to assume its wonted appearance.

"In speaking of the establishment at Foston, Annie Kay must not be forgotten. She entered our service at nineteen years of age, but possessing a degree of sense and ladylike feeling not often found in her situation of life—first as nurse, then as lady's maid, then housekeeper, apothecary's boy, factotum, and friend. All who have been much at Foston or Combe Florey know Annie Kay; she was called in consultation in every family event, and proved herself a worthy

oracle. Her counsels were delivered in the softest voice, with the sweetest smile, and in the broadest Yorkshire. She ended by nursing her old master through his long and painful illness, night and day; she was with him at his death; she followed him to his grave; she was remembered in his will; she survived him but two years, which she spent in my mother's house; and after her long and faithful service of thirty years, was buried by my mother in the same cemetery as her master, respected and lamented by all his family, as the most faithful of servants and friends.

"So much for the interior of the establishment. Out of doors reigned Molly Mills—cow, pig, garden, poultry, and post woman; with her short red petticoat, her legs like mill-posts, her high cheek bones red and shrivelled like winter apples; a perfect specimen of a 'yeowoman'; a sort of kindred spirit, too, for she was the wit of the village, and delighted in a crack with her master, when she could get it. She was as important in her vocation as Annie Kay in hers; and Molly here and Molly there, might be heard in every direction. Molly was always merry, active, willing, and true as gold. She had little book-learning, but enough to bring up two athletic sons, as honest as herself, though, unlike her, they were never seen to smile, but were as solemn as two owls, and would not have said a civil thing to save their lives. They ruled the farm. Add to these the pet donkey, Bitty, already introduced to the public, a tame fawn, at last dismissed for eating the maid's clothes, which he preferred to any other diet, and a lame goose, condemned at last to be roasted for eating all the fruit in the garden; together with Bunch and Jack Robinson, already mentioned, and you have the establishment.

"This year, 1816, from the failure of the harvest, the distress among the poor was excessive. The wheat was generally sprouted throughout the country, and unfit for bread; and good flour was not only dear, but hardly to be procured. We, like our poorer neighbors, being unable to afford it, were obliged to consume our sprouted wheat; and we lived, therefore, a whole year without tasting bread, on thin, unleavened, sweet-tasting cakes, like frost-bitten potatoes, baked on tins, the only way of using this damaged flour. The luxury of returning to bread again can hardly be imagined by those who have never been deprived of it."

Think of this, ye Fifth avenue aristocrats and Southern negroes! Could your respectability survive such diet? When a boy, we well recollect that one year, our father's corn crop being short, he gave the negroes rye meal instead; and we have seen them throw the bread to a dog, who, unused to it, like themselves, turned up his nose at it. "Is that food for human creatures, that even a dog won't eat?" exclaimed one. I sneaked off, thinking it very cruel to give negroes rye bread. A neighbor of ours tried Irish potatoes, but the negroes threatened to strike work, and he had to buy corn for ten dollars a barrel. This was in 1817. The summer of 1816 was so cold that much of the Indian corn did not mature.

We introduce this extract for the special benefit of the old bachelors. See on how little people can live happily and respectably if they have no false shame!

We now come to speak of Mr. Smith's most distinguishing characteristics; those which endeared him to all his acquaintance, young and old, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, pious and worldly-minded. He was the most humorous man

of his day, and his humor was artless, harmless, and good-natured; broad enough, laughter-moving in the extreme, but never coarse, indelicate, or immoral. Generally employed to afford innocent amusement to the social circle, or to his companions, wherever they might be; but occasionally wielded, in his writings and his discourses, with a giant's strength, to lash falsehood, crime, and heresy, and to uphold and advance truth and virtue. His humor was often replete with learning and wit, yet humor always predominated, and, as the manner, company, and occasion, give zest and appreciation to humor, and these we cannot revive, we shall not, therefore, venture to give specimens of his "Table Talk." Yet, we advise all to buy and read the book, which not only amuses and instructs, but inculcates, in an easy and graceful way, useful, moral, and religious lessons.

Before proceeding to Luther, we, on second thought, will revert to Coleridge, who has said, or rather suggested, one good thought in his "Table Talk." He could never follow out a thought to practical conclusion; he had only glimmerings and half views of subjects. He could analyze, but could not digest, generalize, synthesize, and assimilate. His mind was acute, not comprehensive. He says: "When I am very ill indeed, I can read Scott's novels, and they are almost the only books I can then read. I cannot at such times read the Bible; my mind reflects on it, but I cannot bear the open page."

Now, even when one is well, fifty lines of Virgil, or Milton, or the best parts of Shakespeare, or of Pope's "Essay on Criticism," or Butler's *Hudibras*, are too much to read at one time. These authors are replete with thought and philosophic suggestion, and set one to thinking. We cannot read on, and think of what we have read, and, therefore, put the book down. There are no thoughts in Scott's novels or poems, nor in any other novels; the plot alone interests, and we greedily pursue that, without ever feeling disposed to recur to what we have already perused. 'Tis a cunning trick of the novelists never to indulge in thought, for thereby the reader's attention is never diverted from the development of the story. Had Scott written nothing but his poetry and his novels, so far from acquiring the reputation of a man of ability, he would not even have been deemed a man of genius. A power of mimicry, and "turn for taking off," and describing manners and scenery, are the only mental faculties, strongly exhibited in his works of fiction. His "Life of Bonaparte" is a work of

a higher order, and, considering the haste with which it was written, proves, incontestably, that he possessed a high order of intellect, which he habitually wasted and diluted on hastily-written trifles, that pleased the public because they were trifles. All men will read, provided you do not require of them to think; and, invariably, it will be found that the most popular writer is he who has least thought. Thought is written for posterity. Novels contain neither facts nor thoughts, and are read, as liquor is drank, solely for excitement. The time, talent, and money, wasted in writing them, printing them, and reading them, render them one of the most abominable nuisances of our day.

Luther's "Table Talk" cannot be easily appreciated in our times. The world was just emerging from barbarism when he arose, and although learning was common, it was generally blended with much gross superstition. In Germany, especially, did old pagan legends and superstitions prevail. She never possessed the civilization of the ancients, and was then slowly acquiring, through the means of Christianity, the civilization of the moderns. Luther was a man of extraordinary moral and physical courage, deeply and extensively read, energetic, industrious, candid, honest, zealous, and enthusiastic, and gifted with powers of controversial reasoning; superior, probably, to those of any man, of any day; but he was coarse, overbearing, dogmatical, and conceited. These latter qualities the better fitted him for his times and mission. We are about to give some specimens of Luther's superstitious table talk, but must forewarn the reader that these are but the spots upon the sun. No one should read this table talk without reading more about Luther. Skepticism and infidelity are very generally the offspring of half information. Luther was neither a Messiah nor an apostle. He had much of the dross of human nature about him. But there never lived a greater or more useful *man*. He reformed the Catholic Church, while he begat the Protestant churches. The two systems now act and react on each other, and keep up a healthy competition.

Without presuming to decide whether there be more of true Christianity with Catholics or Protestants, we can safely maintain, looking to the rapid spread of Christianity and civilization, that the Reformation forms one of the grandest epochs in human progress. Churches are in many things but human institutions, and languor, remissness, abuse, and corruption, will creep into them. They need occasional reform and stirring up. Wesley and Whitefield were great reformers,



too, they revived vital religion in all the Protestant churches ; and the Catholic Church itself now imitates their example, and preaches up *revivals*.

Wesley was almost as great a man as Luther, and combined a rough and domineering spirit, with equal zeal, industry, piety, and devotedness. The difference between these two truly great and good men, is little more than the difference between the age and country in which they lived. So long as the Bible remains intact, churches may sin and fall, and the world be none the worse for it.

#### "LUTHER'S TALK ABOUT DEVILS AND WITCHES.

"The greatest punishment God can inflict on the wicked is, when the Church, to chastise them, delivers them over to Satan, who, with God's permission, kills them, or makes them undergo great calamities. Many devils are in woods, in waters, in wilderness, and in dark pooly places, ready to hurt and prejudice people ; some are also in the thick black clouds, which cause hail, lightnings, and thunderings, and poison the air, the pasture, and the grounds.

"The Emperor Frederick, father of Maximilian, invited a necromancer to dine with him, and by his knowledge of magic, turned his guest's hands into griffin's claws. He then wanted him to eat, but the man, ashamed, hid his claws under the table. He took his revenge, however, for the jest played upon him. He caused it to seem that a loud alteration was going on in the courtyard, and when the emperor put his head out of the window to see what was the matter, he, by his art, clapped on his head a pair of stag's horns, so that the emperor could not get his head into the room again until he had eased the necromancer of his disfigurement. I am delighted, said Luther, when one devil plagues another. They are not all, however, of equal power.

"There was at Nieuberg a magician called Wildfener, who, one day, swallowed a countryman, with his horse and cart. A few hours afterward, man, horse, and cart, were all found in a slough, a few miles off. I have heard, too, of a seeming monk, who asked a waggoner, who was taking some hay to market, how much he would charge to eat his fill of hay ? The man said, a kreutser, whereupon the monk sat to work, and had nearly devoured the whole load when the man drove him off."

"August 25th, 1538, the conversation fell upon witches, who spoil milk eggs, and butter, in farmyards. Dr. Luther said, 'I should have no compassion on these witches ; I would burn all of them. We read in the old law, that the priests threw the first stone at such malefactors. Tis said this stolen butter turns rancid, and falls to the ground, when any one goes to eat it. He who attempts to counteract and chastise these witches is himself corporally plagued and tormented by the devil, their master. Sunday schoolmasters and ministers have often experienced this. Our ordinary sins offend and anger God. What, then, must be his wrath against witchcraft, which we may justly designate high treason against divine majesty, a revolt against the infinite power of God. The jurisconsults, who have so learnedly and pertinently treated of rebellion, affirm that the subject who rebels against his sovereign is worthy of death. Does not witchcraft, then, merit death, which is a revolt of the creature against the Creator, a denial to God of the authority which it grants to the demon ?

"A pastor near Torgau came to Luther, and complained that the devil tormented him without intermission. The doctor replied : 'He plagues and harasses me, too, but I resist him with the arms of faith. I know of one person at Magdeburg who put Satan to the rout by spitting at him ; but this example is not lightly to be followed, for the devil is a presumptuous spirit, and not disposed to yield. We run great risk when with him we attempt more than we can do. One man, who relied implicitly on his baptism, when the devil presented himself

to him, his head furnished with horns, tore off one of the horns ; but another man, of less faith, who attempted the same thing, was killed by the devil." "

Luther himself, from long study at night, imagined the devil appeared to him, and having strong faith and undaunted courage, threw the inkstand at him. The devil absquatulated forthwith, but not so the ink. That is still to be seen on the wall of the room, in which the apparition was conjured up by his restless and fevered brain.

There were three things that Luther especially dreaded and hated—the pope, the Turk, and the devil. We say *dreaded*, for he feared nothing. His courage was superhuman. He was sent by God, and inspired by God. The Reformation is too grand an event, too big with human destiny, to have happened by chance, against the will, or without the will of Deity. He who denies the inspiration of Luther, denies the existence of a superintending providence, and falls back upon a cold, unfeeling, mechanical theistic first cause, which is but atheism, under another name. Luther was not a messiah, but a man—in some respects, a frail and erring man ; delegated by God for great purposes. His strong passions, prejudices, and superstitions, rendered him more available for the purposes of his mission, and at the same time showed mankind how wide was the difference between the perfection of crucified Divinity and the gross imperfection of the greatest of mere men.

In Luther's time, the Turks threatened to overwhelm and conquer all Europe ; hence his apprehension of their aggressions. 'Tis probable that the Reformation, more than anything else, gave a new life and spirit to Christendom, and enabled them to drive back the Turk. 'Tis true, the expansion of trade consequent on the discovery and use of the compass, was the immediate cause of improvement, but had not the Reformation unfathomed men's minds and energies, discoveries in physical science would have been of no avail—they would have remained a dead letter in the closet of the philosopher.

#### " OF ANTICHRIST.

" Antichrist is the pope and the Turk together : a beast full of life must have a body and a soul ; the spirit or soul of Antichrist is the pope, his flesh or body, the Turk. The latter wastes, and assails, and persecutes God's church corporally ; the former, spiritually and corporally too, with hanging, burning, murdering &c., &c. But, as in the apostle's time, the Church had the victory over the Jews and Romans, so now will she keep the field firm and solid against the hypocrisy and idolatry of the pope, and the tyranny and devastations of the Turk, and her other enemies.

"Seeing the pope is Antichrist, I believe him to be a devil incarnate. Like as Christ is true and natural God and man, so is antichrist a living devil. It is true, too, what they say of the pope, he is a terrestrial god—for he is neither a real god nor a real man, but of the two natures mingled together.

"The Turk will go to Rome, as Daniel's prophecy announces, and then the last day will not be very distant. Germany must be chastised by the Turks. I often reflect with sorrow how utterly Germany rejects all good counsel."

#### ART. VI.—THE NON-SLAVEHOLDERS OF THE SOUTH:

THEIR INTEREST IN THE PRESENT SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY  
IDENTICAL WITH THAT OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS.

MY DEAR SIR: While in Charleston recently I adverted, in conversation with you, to some considerations affecting the question of slavery in its application to the several classes of population at the South, and especially to the non-slaveholding class who, I maintained, were even more deeply interested than any other in the maintenance of our institutions, and in the success of the movement now inaugurated for the entire social, industrial, and political independence of the South. At your request, I promised to elaborate and commit to writing the points of that conversation, which I now proceed to do, in the hope that I may thus be enabled to give some feeble aid to a cause which is worthy of the Sidneys, Hampdens, and Patrick Henrys, of earlier times.

When in charge of the national census office, several years since, I found that it had been stated by an abolition senator from his seat, that the number of slaveholders at the South did not exceed 150,000. Convinced that it was a gross misrepresentation of facts, I caused a careful examination of the returns to be made, which fixed the actual number at 347,255, and communicated the information, by note, to Senator Cass, who read it in the Senate. I first called attention to the fact that the number embraced slaveholding families, and that to arrive at the actual number of slaveholders, it would be necessary to multiply by the proportion of persons which the census showed to a family. When this was done, the number was swelled to about two millions.

Since these results were made public, I have had reason to think that the separation of the schedules of the slave and the free was calculated to lead to omissions of the single properties, and that on this account, it would be safe to put the number of families at 375,000, and the number of actual slaveholders at about two millions and a quarter.

Assuming the published returns, however, to be correct, it will appear that one half of the population of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, excluding the cities, are slaveholders, and that one third of the population of the entire South are similarly circumstanced. The average number of slaves is nine to each slaveholding family, and one half of the whole number of such holders are in possession of less than five slaves.

It will thus appear that the slaveholders of the South, so far from constituting, numerically, an insignificant portion of its people, as has been malignantly alleged, make up an aggregate greater in relative proportion than the holders of any other species of property whatever, in any part of the world; and that of no other property can it be said, with equal truthfulness, that it is an interest of the whole community. While every other family in the States I have specially referred to are slaveholders, but one family in every three and a half families in Maine, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, are holders of agricultural land; and in European states the proportion is almost indefinitely less. The proportion which the slaveholders of the South bear to the entire population is greater than that of the owners of land or houses, agricultural stock, State, bank, or other corporation securities anywhere else. No political economist will deny this. Nor is that all. Even in the States which are among the largest slaveholding, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, the land proprietors outnumber nearly two to one, in relative proportion, the owners of the same property in Maine, Massachusetts, and Connecticut; and if the average number of slaves held by each family throughout the South be but nine, and if one half of the whole number of slaveholders own under five slaves, it will be seen how preposterous is the allegation of our enemies, that the slaveholding class is an organized wealthy aristocracy. *The poor men of the South are the holders of one to five slaves, and it would be equally consistent with truth and justice to say that they represent, in reality, its slaveholding interest.*

The fact being conceded, that there is a very large class of persons in the slaveholding States who have no direct ownership in slaves, it may be well asked, upon what principle a greater antagonism can be presumed between them and their fellow-citizens, than exists among the larger class of non-landholders in the free States and the landed interests there? If a conflict of interest exists in one instance, it does in the

other ; and if patriotism and public spirit are to be measured upon so low a standard, the social fabric at the North is in far greater danger of dissolution than it is here.

Though I protest against the false and degrading standard to which Northern orators and statesmen have reduced the measure of patriotism, which is to be expected from a free and enlightened people, and in the name of the non-slaveholders of the South, fling back the insolent charge that they are only bound to their country by the consideration of its "loaves and fishes," and would be found derelict in honor and principle, and public virtue, in proportion as they were needy in circumstances, I think it but easy to show that the interest of the poorest non-slaveholder among us is to make common cause with, and die in the last trenches, in defence of the slave property of his more favored neighbor.

The non-slaveholders of the South may be classed as either such as desire and are incapable of purchasing slaves, or such as have the means to purchase and do not, because of the absence of the motive—preferring to hire or employ cheaper white labor. A class conscientiously objecting to the ownership of slave property does not exist at the South : for all such scruples have long since been silenced by the profound and unanswerable arguments to which Yankee controversy has driven our statesmen, popular orators, and clergy. Upon the sure testimony of God's Holy Book, and upon the principles of universal polity, they have defended and justified the institution ! The exceptions, which embrace recent importations in Virginia, and in some of the Southern cities, from the free States of the North, and some of the crazy, socialistic Germans in Texas, are too unimportant to affect the truth of the proposition.

The non-slaveholders are either urban or rural, including among the former the merchants, traders, mechanics, laborers, and other classes in the towns and cities ; and among the latter, the tillers of the soil, in sections where slave property either could or could not be profitably employed.

As the *competition of free labor with slave labor* is the gist of the argument used by the opponents of slavery, and as it is upon this that they rely in support of a future social *conflict* in our midst, it is clear that in cases where the competition cannot possibly exist, the argument, whatever weight it might otherwise have, must fall to the ground.

Now, from what can such competition be argued in our cities ? Are not all the interests of the merchant, and those



whom he employs, of necessity upon the side of the slaveholder? The products which he buys, the commodities which he sells, the profits which he realizes, the hopes which sustain him of future fortune, all spring from this source, and from no other. The cities, towns, and villages of the South, are but so many agencies for converting the products of slave labor into the products of other labor obtained from abroad, and, as in every other agency, the interest of the agent is, that the principal shall have as much as possible to sell, and be enabled as much as possible to buy. In the absence of every other source of wealth at the South, its mercantile interests are so interwoven with those of slave labor as almost to be identical. What is true of the merchant, is true of the clerk, the drayman, or the laborer, whom he employs—the mechanic who builds his houses, the lawyer who argues his causes, the physician who heals, the teacher, the preacher, etc., etc. If the poor mechanic could have ever complained of the competition in the cities, of slave labor with his, the cause of that complaint, in the enormous increase of value of slave property, has failed, since such increase has been exhausting the cities and towns of slave labor, or making it so valuable that he can work in competition with it, and receive a rate of remuneration greatly higher than in any of the non-slaveholding towns or cities at the North! In proof of the truth of this, it is only necessary to advert to the example of the city of Charleston, which has a larger proportion of slaves than any other at the South—where the first flag of Southern independence was unfurled, and where the entire people, with one voice, rich and poor, merchant, mechanic, and laborer, stand nobly together. Another illustration may be found in the city of New-York, almost as dependent upon Southern slavery as Charleston itself, which records a majority of nearly 30,000 votes against the further progress of abolitionism.

As the competition does not exist in the cities, it is equally certain that it does not exist in those sections of the South which are employed upon the cultivation of commodities, in which slave labor could not be used, and that there exists no conflict there except in the before stated cases of Virginia and Texas, and some of the counties of Missouri, Maryland, and Kentucky. These exceptions are, however, too unimportant to affect the great question of slavery in fifteen States of the South, and are so kept in check as to be incapable of effecting any mischief even in the communities referred to. It would be the baldest absurdity to suppose that the poor farmers of

South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee, who grew corn, wheat, bacon, and hogs and horses, are brought into any sort of competition with the slaves of these or other States, who, while they consume these commodities, produce but little or none of them.

The competition and conflict, if such exist at the South, between slave labor and free labor, is reduced to the single case of such labor being employed, side by side, in the production of the same commodities, and could be felt only in the cane, cotton, tobacco, and rice fields, where almost the entire agricultural slave labor is exhausted. Now, any one cognisant of the actual facts, will admit that the free labor which is employed upon these crops, disconnected with, and in actual independence of, the slaveholder, is a very significant item in the account, and whether in accord or in conflict, would affect nothing, the permanency and security of the institution. It is a competition from which the non-slaveholder cheerfully retires when the occasion offers, his physical organization refusing to endure that exposure to tropical suns and fatal miasmas which are alone the condition of profitable culture, and any attempt to reverse the laws which God has ordained, is attended with disease and death. This the poor white foreign laborer upon our river-swamps and in our Southern cities, especially in Mobile and New-Orleans, and upon the public works of the South, is a daily witness of.

Having thus followed out, step by step, and seen to what it amounts, the so much paraded competition and conflict existing between the non-slaveholding and slaveholding interests of the South, I will proceed to present several general considerations, which must be found powerful enough to influence the non-slaveholders, if the claims of patriotism were inadequate to resist any attempt to overthrow the institutions and industry of the section to which they belong.

1. *The non-slaveholder of the South is assured that the remuneration afforded by his labor, over and above the expense of living, is larger than that which is afforded by the same labor in the free States.* To be convinced of this, he has only to compare the value of labor in the Southern cities with those of the North, and to take note annually of the large number of laborers who are represented to be out of employment there, and who migrate to our shores, as well as to other sections. No white laborer, in return, has been forced to leave our midst, or remain without employment. Such as have left, emigrated from States where slavery was least productive. Those who come among us are enabled soon to retire to their

homes with a handsome competency. The statement is nearly as true for the agricultural as for other interests, as the statistics will show.

The following table was recently compiled by Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, from information received in reply to a circular letter sent to the points indicated.

Daily wages in New-Orleans, } Charleston, and Nashville. }	Bricklayers. \$2½ to 3½	Carpenters. \$2½ to 2½	Laborers. \$1 to 1½
Daily wages in Chicago, Pitts- } burg, and Toronto. }	\$1 to \$2	\$1½ to 1½	75c to \$1

The rates of board, weekly, for laborers, as given in the census of 1850, were: in Louisiana, \$2 70; South Carolina, \$1 75; Tennessee, \$1 32; in Illinois, \$1 49; Pennsylvania, \$1 72; Massachusetts, \$2 12. The wages of the agricultural classes, as given in Parliamentary reports, are, in France, \$20 to \$30 per annum with board; in Italy, \$12 to \$20 per annum. In the United States agricultural labor is highest in the Southwest, and lowest in the Northwest, the South and North differing very little by the official returns.

2. *The non-slaveholders, as a class, are not reduced by the necessity of our condition, as is the case in the free States, to find employment in crowded cities, and come into competition in close and sickly workshops and factories, with remorseless and untiring machinery.* They have but to compare their condition, in this particular, with the mining and manufacturing operatives of the North and Europe, to be thankful that God has reserved them for a better fate. Tender women, aged men, delicate children, toil and labor there from early dawn until after candle-light, from one year to another, for a miserable pittance, scarcely above the starvation point, and without hope of amelioration. The records of British free labor have long exhibited this, and those of our own manufacturing States are rapidly reaching it, and would have reached it long ago, but for the excessive bounties which, in the way of tariffs, have been paid to it, without an equivalent by the slaveholding and non-slaveholding laborer of the South. Let this tariff cease to be paid for a single year, and the truth of what is stated will be abundantly shown.

3. *The non-slaveholder is not subjected to that competition with foreign pauper labor which has degraded the free labor of the North, and demoralized it to an extent which perhaps can never be estimated.* From whatever cause it has happened, whether from climate, the nature of our products, or of our labor, the South has been enabled to maintain a more homo-

geneous population, and show a less admixture of races, than the North. This the statistics show.

## RATIO OF FOREIGN TO NATIVE POPULATION.

Eastern States .....	12.65 in every 100
Middle States .....	19.84 "
Southern States .....	1.86 "
Southwestern States .....	5.34 "
Northwestern States .....	12.75 "

Our people partake of the true American character, and are mainly the descendants of those who fought the battles of the Revolution, and who understand and appreciate the nature and inestimable value of the liberty which it brought. Adhering to the simple truths of the Gospel, and the faith of their fathers, they have not run hither and thither in search of all the absurd and degrading isms which have sprung up in the rank soil of infidelity. They are not Mormons or Spiritualists; they are not Owenites, Fourierites, Agrarians, Socialists, Free-lovers, or Millerites. They are not for breaking down all the forms of society and of religion, and of reconstructing them; but prefer law, order, and existing institutions, to the chaos which radicalism involves. The competition between native and foreign labor in the Northern States has already begotten rivalry, and heart-burning, and riots, and led to the formation of political parties, which have been marked by a degree of hostility and proscription to which the present age has not afforded another parallel. At the South we have known none of this, except in two or three of the larger cities, where the relations of slavery and freedom scarcely exist at all. The foreigners that are among us at the South are of a select class, and, from education and example, approximate very nearly to the native standard.

4. *The non-slaveholder of the South preserves the status of the white man, and is not regarded as an inferior or a dependant.* He is not told that the Declaration of Independence, when it says that all men are born free and equal, refers to the negro equally with himself. It is not proposed to him that the free negro's vote shall weigh equally with his own at the ballot-box, and that the little children of both colors shall be mixed in the classes and benches of the schoolhouse, and embrace each other filially in its outside sports. It never occurs to him that a white man could be degraded enough to boast in a public assembly, as was recently done in New-York, of having actually slept with a negro. And his patriotic ire would crush with a blow the free negro who would dare, in

his presence, as is done in the free States, to characterize the father of the country as a "scoundrel." No white man at the South serves another as a body-servant, to clean his boots, wait on his table, and perform the menial services of his household! His blood revolts against this, and his necessities never drive him to it. He is a companion and an equal. When in the employ of the slaveholder, or in intercourse with him, he enters his hall, and has a seat at his table. If a distinction exists, it is only that which education and refinement may give, and this is so courteously exhibited as scarcely to strike attention. The poor white laborer at the North is at the bottom of the social ladder, while his brother here has ascended several steps, and can look down upon those who are beneath him at an infinite remove!

5. *The non-slaveholder knows that as soon as his savings will admit, he can become a slaveholder, and thus relieve his wife from the necessities of the kitchen and the laundry, and his children from the labors of the field.* This, with ordinary frugality, can in general be accomplished in a few years, and is a process continually going on. Perhaps twice the number of poor men at the South own a slave, to what owned a slave ten years ago. The universal disposition is to purchase. It is the first use for savings, and the negro purchased is the last possession to be parted with. If a woman, her children become heirlooms, and make the nucleus of an estate. It is within the knowledge of the writer that a plantation of fifty or sixty persons has been established from the descendants of a single female, in the course of the lifetime of the original purchaser.

6. *The large slaveholders and proprietors of the South begin life in great part as non-slaveholders.* It is the nature of property to change hands. Luxury, liberality, extravagance, depreciated land, low prices, debt, distribution among children, are continually breaking up estates. All over the new States of the Southwest enormous estates are in the hands of men who began life as overseers or city clerks, traders and merchants. Often the overseer marries the widow. Cheap lands, abundant harvests, high prices, give the poor man soon a negro. His ten bales of cotton bring him another, a second crop increases his purchases, and so he goes on, opening land and adding labor, until in a few years his draft for \$20,000 upon his merchant becomes a very marketable commodity.

7. *But, should such fortune not be in reserve for the non-slaveholder, he will understand that by honesty and industry it may be realized to his children.* More than one generation



of poverty in a family is scarcely to be expected at the South, and is against the general experience. It is more unusual here for poverty than wealth to be preserved through several generations in the same family.

8. *The sons of the non-slaveholder are and have always been among the leading and ruling spirits of the South, in industry as well as in politics.* Every man's experience in his own neighborhood will evince this. He has but to task his memory. In this class are the McDuffies, Langdon Cheeves, Andrew Jacksons, Henry Clays, and Rusk, of the past; the Hammonds, Yanceys, Orrs, Memmings, Benjamins, Stephens, Soules, Browns of Mississippi, Simms, Porters, Magraths, Aikens, Maunsel Whites, and an innumerable host of the present, and what is to be noted, these men have not been made demagogues for that reason, as in other quarters, but are among the most conservative among us. Nowhere else have intelligence and virtue, disconnected from ancestral estates, the same opportunities for advancement, and nowhere else is their triumph more speedy and signal.

9. *Without the institution of slavery the great staple products of the South would cease to be grown, and the immense annual results which are distributed among every class of the community, and which give life to every branch of industry, would cease.* The world furnishes no instances of these products being grown upon a large scale by free labor. The English now acknowledge their failure in the East Indies. Brazil, whose slave population nearly equals our own, is the only South American state which has prospered. Cuba, by her slave labor, showers wealth upon old Spain, while the British West India colonies have now ceased to be a source of revenue, and from opulence have been, by emancipation, reduced to beggary. St. Domingo shared the same fate, and the poor whites have been massacred equally with the rich.

## EXPORTS.

	1789.	1860.
HAYTI.....	\$27,829,000	\$5,000,000 to 6,000,000
Sugar is no longer exported, and the quantity of coffee scarcely exceeds one third, and of cotton one tenth of the exports of 1789. This I give upon Northern authority.		
JAMAICA.....	1806.	1867.
Sugar.....	150,352 hhds.	30,459 hhds.
Rum.....	93,950 "	15,994 "
Coffee.....	24,187,393 lbs.	7,095,628 lbs.

The value of the present slave production of the South is thus given :

UNITED STATES EXPORTS FOR 1859.	
Of SOUTHERN ORIGIN—	1859.
Cotton.....	\$161,484,923
Tobacco.....	21,074,038
Rice.....	2,207,148
Naval stores.....	8,694,474
Sugar.....	196,735
Molasses.....	75,699
Hemp.....	9,227
Total.....	188,693,496
Other from the South.....	8,108,632
Cotton manufactures.....	4,989,733
Total from the South.....	198,389,351
From the North.....	78,217,202
Total merchandise.....	278,392,080
Specie.....	57,502,305
To the Southern credit, however, must be given—	
Sixty per cent. of the cotton manufacture, being for raw materials.	\$3,669,106
Breadstuffs (the North having received from the South a value as large in these as the whole foreign export).....	40,047,000
	43,716,106
Add.....	198,389,351
Southern.....	242,105,457
Northern contribution.....	34,501,096

10. *If emancipation be brought about, as will, undoubtedly be the case, unless the encroachments of the fanatical majorities of the North are resisted now, the slaveholders, in the main, will escape the degrading equality which must result, by emigration, for which they have the means, by disposing of their personal chattels, while the non-slaveholders, without these resources, would be compelled to remain and endure the degradation.* This is a startling consideration. In Northern communities, where the free negro is one in a hundred of the total population, he is recognized and acknowledged often as a pest, and in many cases even his presence is prohibited by law. What would be the case in many of our States, where every other inhabitant is a negro, or in many of our communities, as, for example, the parishes around and about Charleston, and in the vicinity of New-Orleans, where there are from twenty to one hundred negroes to each white inhabitant? Low as would this class of people sink by emancipation in idleness, superstition, and vice, the white man compelled to live among them would, by the power exerted over him, sink even lower, unless, as is to be supposed, he would prefer to suffer death instead.

In conclusion, my dear sir, I must apologize to the non-

slaveholders of the South, of which class I was myself until very recently a member, for having deigned to notice at all the infamous libels which the common enemies of the South have circulated against them, and which our every-day experience refutes, but the occasion seemed a fitting one to place them truly and rightly before the world. This I have endeavored faithfully to do. They fully understand the momentous questions which now agitate the land in all their relations. They perceive the inevitable drift of Northern aggression, and know that if necessity impel to it, as I verily believe it does at this moment, the establishment of a Southern confederation will be a sure refuge from the storm. In such a confederation our rights and possessions would be secure, and the wealth being retained at home, to build up our towns and cities, to extend our railroads, and increase our shipping, which now goes in tariffs or other involuntary or voluntary tributes\* to other sections, opulence would be diffused throughout all classes, and we should become the freest, the happiest, and the most prosperous and powerful nation upon earth.

Your obedient servant,

J. D. B. DE BOW.

To R. N. GOURDIN, Esq., *Charleston, S. C.*

#### ART. VII.—CHOTANK, ALEXANDRIA—A DIVE INTO HERCULANEUM.

WE have just returned from a visit to Chotank, the neighborhood in Virginia in which we were bred, educated, and lived until we were twenty-three years of age. We were born on the Brenttown tract, in Prince William, Virginia, and removed, or rather were removed, to Chotank, at six years of age. Brenttown was a sort of colony from Chotank. When we lived there, all the people were Chotankers by

\* The annual drain in profits which is going on from the South to the North is thus set down by Mr. Kettell, of New-York:

Bounties to fisheries, per annum.....	\$1,500,000
Customs, per annum, disbursed at the North.....	40,000,000
Profits of manufacturers.....	30,000,000
Profits of importers.....	16,000,000
Profits of shipping, imports and exports.....	40,000,000
Profits of travellers.....	60,000,000
Profits of teachers and others at the South, sent North.....	5,000,000
Profits of agents, brokers, commissions, etc....	10,000,000
Profits of capital drawn from the South.....	30,000,000
Total from these sources.....	\$231,500,000

This, from the beginning of the government, making all proper deduction from year to year, has given to the North over \$2,500,000,000 of Southern wealth. Are her accumulations, then, surprising, and can one be surprised if accumulation should appear to be less in the South?

descent. Like their Chotank ancestors, their hearts were bigger than their purses. They generally broke, or became embarrassed, and moved South and West, to mend their fortunes. Being men of energy and education they generally succeeded, and are now doing better than either their Brenttown, or more remote Chotank ancestry ever did. Among those who lived there when we did were Senator Henry S. Foote and Col. Thomas Ludwell Alexander, of U. S. Army. Now we do not think there is a single individual residing in the whole section who lived there when we did, and scarcely a descendant of the then population.

To return to Chotank. It is neither a State, nor a county, nor a parish. To define its boundaries would be impossible, for they are Protean, expansive, and contractive. In flush times, forty years ago, when corn, wheat, and tobacco, sold well, or they failing, the negroes fetched a good price, all the world flocked to Chotank, or rather Chotank included Charles and St. Mary's county, in Maryland, Alexandria and Fredericksburg, extended over to the Rappahannock, and up to Culpeper and Prince William. After the hard times, from 1825 to 1835, there was a pretty general crash and break up, and Chotank, for some years, collapsed, dwarfed, and dwindled down to the little parish of St. Paul's, some fifteen miles long by five wide. It is again prospering and reviving, and would be as attractive as ever but for the change of public taste, which now carries off people to the cold, formal, and insipid society of towns and watering-places, and make them undervalue and neglect the more cordial, manly, and elegant hospitality of a refined country neighborhood like Chotank. The neighborhood lies on the Potomac, and takes its name from a little creek of some two miles in length. When we first remember the place, this creek and all its tributaries were included within the farms of Richard Stuart, of Cedar Grove, Needham L. Washington, of Waterloo, and Henry Fitzhugh, of Bedford. They were the only gentlemen of that section, who, strange to say, were not Chotankers. They were wealthy, older than the rest of the population, and though hospitable, were somewhat retired and secluded, avoiding that continuous round of parties and frolicking that occupied the time of most of their neighbors, and attracted crowds of visitors from adjoining sections. There was then no church there, indeed few churches in any part of the State. We do not know that any of the gentlemen were unbelievers, nor do we think they knew themselves; they had no time to think about church matters. Except the three gentlemen just named, few were rich enough to think or care much about property, and none poor enough to dream they would ever want it. The possession of wealth injured a man's social standing, because it placed him on unequal terms with his neighbors, and somewhat excluded him from society. At this moment, wealth does not in the slightest degree promote a man's social standing in Chotank, but rather embarrasses the possessor in his association with his less wealthy, but equally refined, moral, and respectable neighbors. The population is now very moral and religious, but as lively, cheerful, social, and hospitable as ever. They are

the same people in disposition, manners, temper, and blood, that they were two hundred years ago. They were always English in manner, for they are all descended from the gentry of England. There were Squire Westerns there when Fielding wrote *Tom Jones*, but they have gradually toned down like the English country gentleman. Except in becoming religious, they have not improved on their ancestry. Indeed, they are very inferior men to the first settlers, two centuries ago, in some respects—the reasons for which inferiority we will, as we proceed, disclose.

The country, on the Virginia side of the Potomac, beginning ten miles below Chotank creek, on Machodoc creek, and extending up the river about forty miles, to Occaquahan creek, and out from the river a distance of about five miles in breadth, was settled simultaneously, about the year 1651, just after the beheading of Charles I., by active partisans of that king. It contains about 100,000 acres of very hilly, but very fertile lands. We are enabled to give the date of the settlement, and the quantity and boundaries of the section then settled, from a copy of proposals, made by William Fitzhugh to Lord Fairfax, to buy out for a mere song his rents and right to escheats in this whole region. Col. George Brent, of Woodstock, Stafford county, counsel and agent for Lord Fairfax, like most of the colonial lawyers, was a practical surveyor, and had surveyed the whole tract. It constituted the lower part of Stafford county, and was thus narrow, because the rivers Rappahannock and Potomac run parallel, at a distance, in some places, of less than ten miles from each other, and there were then separate counties extending along both rivers. We shall, for convenience, call this whole region Chotank. The country opposite it and below it, in Maryland, was settled by Catholic gentlemen, under the lead of Lord Baltimore. The two adjoining sections were more zealously and thoroughly cavalier than any other settlements in the Union. The Catholics were all monarchists, and friends of the House of Stuart; the Chotankers had fought under the banner of Charles I., and fled from England rather than submit to the vulgar despotism of Cromwell. The broad Potomac, that now entirely dissociates the population on either side, then bound them together, and made of Chotank and the settled part of Maryland one neighborhood and one people. Inter-marriages between the sections were frequent, and most of the respectable people in the upper counties of the Northern Neck are distantly descended from the Marylanders, and tens of thousands of the Marylanders are descended from the Chotankers. There were no Indians in the river, and the whites feared not to cross it. The forest was infested with them, and few whites ventured to travel from Rappahannock to Potomac. The people on the two rivers never inter-married then, and have inter-married little since. Then the Indians prevented intercourse; now the cities attract country people, and there is very little interchange of visits with each other.

The leading men in Chotank, so far as we can gather from family records and traditions, and from colonial statutes, were Col. George Mason, remote ancestor of Senator Mason, Col. Gerard Fowke,



Col. Giles Brent, Col. Townsend, and Col. Lord. Col. William Fitzhugh and Col. George Brent removed to the colony some fifteen years after the first settlement. They were military commandants under Lord Fairfax, at one time, of this region, but we do not think either was a military man. They were land agents and counsel for Lord Fairfax, distinguished lawyers, great dealers in land and tobacco, and more given to money-making than to war. In fact, Giles Brent and Col. Mason, Col. Fowke and Col. Lord, had pretty well used up the Indians before George Brent and William Fitzhugh came to the county to practise law, to speculate in tobacco, and buy lands and freshly imported Africans. Giles Brent, son of the Lord of Kent Island, was the military hero of the Brent family, and his cousin of Woodstock only distinguished in civil life. We are disposed to believe that neither this Giles nor his compeers, Mason, Fowke and Lord, were very amiable or mild people, not merely because, acting on their own hook, they smote the Indians hip and thigh, but because we find William Fitzhugh writing to Mr. ——— Chiseldine, the attorney general of Maryland, to procure a divorce *a mensa et thoro* for his sister-in-law from her husband, Mr. Blackstone, and telling Chiseldine that he can find but one instance of such divorce granted in this county, and that was the case of Giles Brent and wife. Now we think it is very probable that Giles the elder quit his manor of Kent Island, and his high position as lawyer and politician in Maryland, because of a quarrel with his wife. He would not have fled for fear, for the family were all brave, and his sister stood her ground, commanded the forces, fought like an Amazon, and whipped the enemy. We doubt whether *she* was sweet tempered. Indeed, we believe that it was high, turbulent temper that brought most of our ancestry to America. They could not quietly submit to tyranny and injustice in either civil or religious matters, and came to America to enjoy a larger liberty—and sometimes, perhaps—a *larger license*.

Sir Thomas Lunsford, who, immediately after the beheading of Charles in 1650, settled just opposite Chotank, on the Rappahannock, was charged with eating the babies of the Roundheads during the civil war; and although we have heard one of his descendants, our friend, James Hunter, Esq., repeat a song, in which Sir Thomas is represented, after a hard day's ride and successful foray, taking a baby's hand out of his pocket, yet we don't believe one word of the legend. Still it is certain that in the civil wars of England, as in all other civil wars, great cruelties were perpetrated, and the laws of civilized warfare habitually violated. Mason and Fowke were dashing cavaliers, officers in Charles's army, and educated in the very school to make them excellent Indian warriors—for it is impossible to observe the laws of civilized warfare, and be successful, in wars with the Indians. Certain it is, that they and Giles Brent and Lord, did succeed in finally subduing the Virginia Indians. The tribes on James and York rivers, and in the Lower Northern Neck had been subdued before this time, and the governor and house of burgesses had become so unaccustomed to Indian warfare and Indian characters

thae the first six acts of the session of 1661-62 (see Henning's Statute at Large, vol. ii.) are acts inflicting heavy fines and disabilities on Mason, Fowke, Giles Brent, and Lord, for pretended wrongs perpetrated on the Potomac Indians, and the seventh act is a law to reannex Westmoreland county to Northumberland, on account of the frequent wars with the Indians! (Stafford county had not then been formed, and these gentlemen lived in Westmoreland.) Now, the seventh act, of itself, goes far to show that these gentlemen were right, and only acted in self-defence. The voluntary rising of the whole people of the colony, under Bacon, shortly after, to chastise and subdue the Indians, shows clearly that the governor and the house of burgesses had so neglected their duty that it became necessary the people should take the matter in their own hands. Mason, Fowke, and Brent, only anticipated Bacon. But they, after victory, did not, like Bacon, become traitors, and turn their arms against their country. On the contrary, under the lead of Giles Brent, they, and the whole Northern Neck, turned out to oppose and subdue Bacon. Brent's soldiers deserted him, but it was not the fault of the men we have mentioned, who were tried soldiers, but of some recruits hastily levied. Historians have not distinguished properly between Bacon the patriot, fighting and subduing the Indians, and Bacon the base traitor, turning his victorious arms against his own country. A short act of the house of burgesses, passed after Bacon's death, 1666-67 (see 2d Henning, p. 403), gives the true history of Bacon's proceedings, and does immortal honor to Giles Brent and the people of the Northern Neck. It provides payment for Bacon's soldiers while he warred against the Indians only, and then goes on to recite, "and also those northern soldiers under command of Col. Giles Brent, who *did only serve against the Indians*, and did return to their due allegiance and obedience when Col. Giles Brent did lay down his arms, and had promise from the northern gentlemen and magistrates for their pay, be paid by their respective counties." After this honorable conduct of Brent and his followers, the troops again took up arms under him to oppose Bacon in his treasonable purposes, and for this voluntary rising another act was passed to pay them (2d Henning, page 406). The Northern Neck, and especially Chotank, was the most loyal, patriotic, and cavalier portion of the colony of Virginia. There were no traitors there; and yet these high-souled men were the last to brook British oppression. They signed a Declaration of Independence, and acted under it, just ten years before our prevent bombastic absurd affair was signed by Congress.

In our late visit to Chotank we got hold of the genealogy of the Fowke family. This family is now historical, if it were for no other reason than that its descendants in the female line, are more numerous than those of any other family in the South; have all been respectable, and have filled, and now fill, many high offices. We know but few persons, from King George county to the Blue Ridge, of respectable standing, who have not Fowke blood in their veins, and the same is the case in a large portion of Maryland, where one branch

of the family settled. The first-comers were said to be distinguished for violent and hasty temper. It may be so, but surely the last of the name we know were good-tempered people, and their descendants in the female line have tempers like other people. But men, and more especially ladies, are proud of family infirmities, and when any one gets angry in the Upper Northern Neck they always excuse themselves on the score of their Fowke blood. Indeed, so exaggerated had this notion of the Fowke temper become that it gave rise to a tradition that the family were descended from Guy Fawkes—who, we think, was a Spaniard or Italian and left no children. We suspect there is hardly a neighborhood of ten miles square in the South, in which there are not kin, connection, or descendants of the Fowkes, and that we shall gratify general curiosity in giving some extracts from their early genealogy :

“ Roger Fowke, of the house of Ganston, in England, and Mary, his wife, had nine sons and six daughters.”

Here follow the names and marriages of those sons and daughters, which we omit, except :

“ The sixth son, Gerard Fowke (the first predecessor as before mentioned) was a Virginia merchant, a colonel in the British army, and gentleman of the privy chamber of Charles I. He came to the United States about the time that unfortunate monarch was beheaded. (One of his sons settled in Maryland.) He acquired several valuable tracts of land in Virginia, particularly one of 1,400 acres at Paspatan, on Potomac river, now in King George.”

(This tract was in Westmoreland, when patented by Fowke, afterward in Stafford, and now in King George, part of it belonged for two hundred years to the Fowke name, and has passed out of it within the last ten years.)

Gerard Fowke, the second son of Gerard first, who settled in Maryland, married Ann, the widow of Mr. Chandler, who resided on Port Tabacco creek, where he lived the remainder of his life. Two sons and two daughters were the issue of that marriage. One of his sons, Adam, died in infancy ; Gerard Fowke, third, of whom more will be said hereafter, was the other son of that marriage ; Anne Fowke, the first daughter, married Major Wm. Dent, an eminent lawyer, living on Nanjemoy creek, Charles county, Maryland ; Mary Fowke, their second daughter, married Col. George Mason, of the State of Virginia. (This marriage took place about 1695, and this Col. George Mason was son, or grandson, of the first settler, Colonel George.) Children of that marriage as follows : George Mason, first son ; Tench Mason, second son ; Nicholas Mason, third son ; Gerard Mason, fourth son ; Anne Mason, the first daughter, was thrice married—first husband, Dorel ; second, Thomas Fitzhugh, son of William Fitzhugh, the first settler (there was no issue from this marriage) ; her third husband, Smith. Mary Mason, their second daughter, was twice married, her first husband was George Fitzhugh, brother of above Thomas (the Fitzhughs of Maryland, New-York, and Michigan, descended from this marriage), her second husband was

Strother. Sempha Rosa Amphael Mason, their third daughter, was twice married; her first husband was a Scotch gentleman, Mr. John Dinwiddie, a merchant on the Rappahannock, and brother of Gov. Dinwiddie. Two daughters were the issue of that marriage, Elizabeth Dinwiddie, of whom more will be said hereafter, and Jane Dinwiddie, their second daughter, who married Mr. William White, of Staffordshire, England.

The second husband of Sempha R. A. Mason was Mr. Jeremiah Bronaugh, of King George county, Virginia; their children, William, John, Mary, Ann, and Elizabeth Bronaugh.

To return to Gerard Fowke, third, great-grandson of first settler. He married Sarah, daughter of Mr. Burdett, of Charles county, Maryland. He exchanged 400 acres of land, part of the tract of 1,400, on Paspatany, for 500 acres on Nanjemoy creek, Maryland. To which he removed, and passed the remainder of his life. At his death he devised the same to his grandson Gerard, fourth, son of Roger Fowke. The issue of this marriage with Miss Burdett was three sons and four daughters—Gerard, who died unmarried; Chandler, of whom more hereafter; and Roger, who married Anne Stone, of Maryland: issue, Gerard, fifth, and Jane. Anne Fowke, first daughter of Gerard, fourth, and Miss Burdett, married Robert Alexander, of Stafford county (descendants numerous, and hence name Gerard in Alexander family). Frances, second daughter of Gerard Fowke and Miss Burdett, Frances Fowke, second daughter of second Gerard and Miss Burdett, married Dr. Gustavus Brown, of Charles county, Maryland.

The Reviewer here pauses a moment to remark that the descendants of this marriage of Dr. Gustavus Brown to Miss Frances Fowke are generally supposed to be the most numerous, as they certainly are one of the most respectable family connections in Virginia. Yet, Frances Fowke was of the fifth generation of the Fowke family in America, and no doubt, therefore, the descendants of the first Gerard Fowke are fifty times as numerous as the descendants of his great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. Frances Brown. The Browns were distinguished for talent. An ancestor had been a general in the Swedish army, and is said to have married a sister of Gustavus Vasa, before Vasa was made king, hence the name Gustavus, so common among the various families descended from him in Virginia. His (Dr. Brown's) son, Gustavus, was also an eminent physicien, and attended Washington in his last illness.

But to proceed with the genealogy. We now copy from memoirs of the Brown family, found in the Prayer Book of Dr. Gustavus Brown:

"On the 20th of April, 1689, was baptized Gustavus Brown (born same day). Parents, Gustavus Brown, son of Richard Brown, minister of Solton, Scotland, in the reign of Charles I., and Jane Michelton, daughter of George Middleton, of the house of Middleton, Dilkeith.

"I came into Maryland in May, 1708, Anno 1711 married Frances Fowke, daughter of Gerard Fowke, on Nanjemoy, born February 2, 1691, of which marriage the following children were born: viz., Gustavus Brown or Broun (as

called in Scotland), was born, December, 1711. Frances Brown was born July 24th 1713, married the Rev. Mr. Moneure, of Virginia, of Huguenot descent (Judge Moneure, of the Virginia Court of Appeals, is a descendant of this marriage); Sarah Brown was born August 29th, 1815, married the Rev. Mr. Scott, of Virginia (grandfather of the eminent jurist, Judge Scott, of Fauquier county, Va., who was father of Robert E. Scott, Esq.); Mary Brown, born December 8, 1711, married Rev. Mr. Kiplins, afterward married Rev. Mr. Threkeld; Christian Brown was born August 29th, 1720, married Mr. Graham, and died soon after. [By REVIEWER:—She left issue, one of whom is Mrs. Robert Hudgin (not Professor Hudgin), one of your subscribers, a lawyer of Caroline co., Va., and proprietor of the Fauquier White Sulphur Springs.] Gustavus Brown, born September, 1822, and died at eight days of age. As did my eldest son on the ninth month. Elizabeth Brown was born October 5th, 1723, married Mr. Wallace, of Virginia; Richard Brown was born December 2, 1725, married Helen Bayley, of Scotland; Gustavus R. Brown was born May 30th, 1727, and died 9th of June following; Jane Brown was born on 1st —, 1728, married the Rev. Isaac Campbell; Ann married Robert Horner, of Yorkshire, England, and, after his death, Samuel Claggett, and after his death, Mr. Handon." [Late Professor Horner, of Philadelphia, and Inman Horner, of Warrenton, Virginia, descended from this Ann. Dr. Brown omitted his daughter Cecilia, who married Dr. John Key, of Maryland, afterward married Thomas Bond, of same county. Dr. Brown, after the death of his wife, Miss Fowke, married a second time, and, by the last marriage, had two children: Gustavus Brown, physician to Washington, and Margaret Brown, who married Thomas Stone of Maryland, signer of the Declaration of Independence.]

We omit the rest of the Fowke and Brown genealogy. We have cited enough to show from the pedigree of these two families alone that the people of Maryland on the Potomac, and the people of the upper Northern Neck of Virginia are one people. We could show that Brents, Lees, Ogles, Taylors, Diggs, Chiseldines, Platers, Blackestones, Keys, Stuarts, Fitzhughs, Jenifers, Mercers, Chandlers, Dades, Barnes, Masons, Fowkes, Browns, Bartons, Contees, Calverts, Carrolls, Stones, and a hundred other families, belong equally to Maryland and Virginia, and are all enthusiastic cavaliers. The late Hon. Peter V. Daniel, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Jno. M. Daniel, Esq., our minister to one of the South American states, were of this Fowkes connection. The distinguished Mason family of Lexington, and Gunston, Va., we have shown are also descended from the Fowkes. Mrs. Geo. N. Grymes, of King George, a daughter of the last George Mason, of Lexington, and granddaughter of the great George Mason of the Revolution, promised us, on our late visit to Chotank, to send us the genealogy of the Masons, with some historical anecdotes. Their history is in part of the history of Maryland and Virginia, and of the Union, and we shall say little more of them, till we hear from Mrs. Grymes.

Mrs. Grymes, we found, aspiring for the honors of age, but she has not completed her seventieth year. We, therefore, do not enrol her among the oldest inhabitants. Dangerfield Lewis, Esq., of Marmion, a nephew of Washington, Col. Jno. B. Dade, well-known in Washington, and our mother, are the oldest surviving Chotankers. Each about seventy-six, and each enjoying sound health and strength.

We went over especially to visit our friend Gustavus B. Alexander, of Caledon, on the Potomac river, near Chotank creek. His



ancestors were the original patentees of what was at first called Chotank, and some of the family have owned, at first, the whole, and since, a part of the original patent, and, with a slight interval, resided on it for more than two centuries. Our friend was suffering from long and protracted illness, and, we grieve to learn, is since dead. Never lived there a purer, more kind-hearted, sincere, and upright man. He was a gentleman without fear and without reproach, a good scholar, and a devout Christian. We also intended to visit our friend Dr. A. B. Hooe, of Barnesfield, King George—formerly better known as Hooe's Ferry, who, we heard, was also ill. We were agreeably disappointed by meeting the Doctor driving himself and daughter, and in excellent health. By-the-by, we will here correct an error in the Doctor's genealogy, which he furnished us at our request, and which appeared in the September No. of this REVIEW. His mother was Lucy Fitzhugh Grymes, of Eaglesnest, King George, not "Gwynne," as printed. The late Jno. R. Grymes, the distinguished jurist of New Orleans, was of the same family. When you, Mr. Editor, are not at your post, typographical errors occur in our articles. We write an admirable hand, but it takes as long while to learn to read it, as to learn to decipher the hieroglyphics of Egypt, or the cuneiform characters of Western Asia.

The names of the earliest settlers of Chotank, so far as we can learn from history and tradition, were Townshend, Dade, Harrison, Dodson, Howsen, Hooe, Ashton, Washington, Banks, Allison, Bunbury, Berryman, Mason, Brent, Fowke, Foote, Hayward, Fitzhugh, Alexander, &c., &c. Captain Berryman, of the navy, distinguished for successful ocean soundings, is of Chotank descent. So was the late Senator Butler, of South Carolina, who informed us he was descended from a Berryman, who married a Fitzhugh. Several branches of the Washington family resided there, and, as late as the Revolution, Samuel Washington, a brother of the great general, resided on Chotank creek. The ancestors of Col. Washington, of the Revolution, also lived at Hilton, on Chotank creek. At a later period two Huguenot families, the Barnards and Masseys, moved to this section. Still later the Grymes and Lewis's; and, quite recently, the Lomax, Tennant, and Hunter families. The Stewarts were Jacobites, who followed the fortunes or misfortunes of the elder Pretender, and fled from Scotland to Chotank in 1715.

During our visit, we met with a copy of the act of the house of burgesses, incorporating the town of Alexandria. This act is not to be found in Hening's "Statutes at Large." Before this act it was a place of some importance as a depot for tobacco, and was called Bell-Haven. The town was situated chiefly on the lands of the Alexanders, who had large possessions thereabouts, as well as in Chotank and elsewhere on the Potomac.—(See Birch vs. Alexander, 1st Washington Reports.) Tradition derives the name of the town from the name of this family, and the recitals of the act fortify and substantiate the tradition. The act was passed as late as 1748. It appropriates sixty acres of land, about Hunting Creek Warehouse on the

Potomac, part of the land of Philip Alexander and Hugh West, to the purpose of building a town to be called Alexandria. The trustees appointed for the purpose, are, Right Honorable Thomas Lord Fairfax, the Hon. William Fairfax, George Fairfax, Richard Osborne, Lawrence Washington (of Mount Vernon, brother to the general), William Ramsay, John Carlyle, John Pagan, Gerard Alexander, Hugh West, and Philip Alexander. The Fairfax family lived at and owned Belvoir, on the Potomac, near Mount Vernon; and there the land-office was kept by a nephew of Lord Fairfax, after the death of Robert Carter, commonly called King Carter of Lancaster, who had succeeded Brent and Fitzhugh as land-agent. The trustees are directed to pay the proceeds of the sale of the lots to Philip Alexander, John Alexander, and Hugh West, according to their respective rights therein. So it seems the town was built on the land of two Alexanders. In fact, we learn that the site of Christ church was donated to the parish by the Alexanders, and built before the town was laid out. It obstructs the course of Cameron street; and we learn that that street was the dividing line between the possessions of two branches of the Alexander family.

We are glad to hear that Alexandria is prospering and fast increasing in trade, wealth, and population. If our Southern towns would evince less of the Union spirit, and encourage the spirit of non-intercourse with the North, they would thereby advance their own interests and benefit the whole South. Dependence on the North injures Southern farmers and ruins Southern towns. If we buy all we want from Northern towns, there is no use for Southern towns; yet, strange to say, there is far more of Southern feeling in our counties than in our towns. Why is this?

It is remarkable that there was neither village nor town in Virginia for more than a hundred years after the first settlement, although the colony was flourishing and contained a population, at the end of the century after its settlement, of at least a hundred thousand. This population, however, clung to the great tide-water rivers. Tobacco was almost the only article made for sale; that was put up in hogsheads weighing from four to five hundred pounds, and, for want of carts or wagons, rolled to the nearest landing. Although no towns arose, yet, at almost every mile along the Potomac, the James river, York river, and Rappahannock, there were stores that carried on a direct trade with Europe. Up to the time of the Revolution, almost every planter along those rivers was also a merchant, and imported twice a year for himself and neighbors. It was called sending "home," for England was called home for many generations after the first settlement. The ships were only from one to two hundred tons burden, drew little water, and sailed up to the falls of the great rivers. Those rivers were streets, like the canals of Venice, and brought merchandise to each man's door. Towns did not begin to arise until population spread above tide-water toward the mountains, because, until then, towns were useless. They have grown up slowly, because, until railroads were introduced, they had little accessible back country.

National character and national well-being are almost entirely the creatures of physical causes; and it will be found, as railroads extend westward, that Southern cities, Southern commerce, and Southern manufactures, will rapidly grow up and successfully compete with those of the North.

The history of Virginia is a blank from the time of Bacon's rebellion until about 1750. Public records have been lost or destroyed; but this blank might, in part, be filled up by diligent study of old family papers. We propose to give a few extracts from private letters, written shortly after Bacon's rebellion, which will throw some light on the manners and customs of the day, if they add nothing to political history. The first letter we give, is from William Fitzhugh to his law-partner George Brent. Brent was a wealthy man and distinguished lawyer, a widower, and was about to address the widow chandler, of Maryland, a step-daughter of Lord Baltimore. Tobacco was abundant in Virginia, and Brent and Fitzhugh usually took tobacco-notes for their fees; but Virginia tobacco-notes were not current in Maryland, and Brent sent out his collecting attorney to raise money; and failing to collect it, to call on his friend Fitzhugh to borrow any he might have, and also clothes for the occasion. Clothes could only be procured once in six months, and an impatient, impulsive widower could not wait six months to rig himself out in new apparel. Fitzhugh seems, for a very wealthy man, rather badly off, both in clothes and money, but very ready to oblige his friend. Lawyers then wore, in term time, immense powdered wigs, black gowns, ruffled wristbands, and lace waistcoats. It was the age of pompous and elaborate dress, and it must have gone hard with pioneer lawyers "to keep up with the times and fashions."

"February 25, 1689.

"DEAR BROTHER: John Simpson brought me your most acceptable letter. Ill weather at our appointed time for our last court hindered me of the real enjoyment of your most desired company. The purport of your letter I affectionately and fully answer, that is, of your desired pieces of gold and what cravats, &c., fashionable I have at present to supply you with. Could wish I had more, and they should with the same alacrity and readiness be devoted to your service. By his return from Cullum and disappointment there, I was not only concerned but extremely troubled, guessing at your concerns and intentions there, and before your return a full consummation, &c. In the carrying on all which designs I know you would neither be beholding, nor appear to have any occasion thereof to any one in Maryland, therefore I have so far straitened myself as to supply you with all my stock except one piece of eight, which I hope may be enough to carry on your designs as I imagine them, &c., or to supply your pocket expense on your journey, which please to accept with the same freedom they are offered and sent. I hear Cullum designs out before our court, therefore would have you send again before then, that you may not be disappointed of your expected money; and if you think that I may be any way serviceable to you, please to lay your commands and they shall be readily obeyed. Mr. Newton, now at my house, informs me of abundance of rum now at Pawtuxent, at 16 pence per gallon, and under; please do in that and all other concerns as for yourself. I have about 200 hhds. now by me, the conveniency yourself knows. [He means he would swap tobacco for rum.] I send by this messenger one guinea, twelve pieces of eight, one cravat and ruffles, and sleeves and cravat-strings.

"Yours,

"WM. FITZHUGH.

"To Capt'n George Brent at Woodstock."

Brent married the widow. We published Lord Baltimore's letter of congratulation on the occasion, among the Brent papers, in this REVIEW, some year ago. Mr. Newton, mentioned by Fitzhugh, lived in Westmoreland, and was an ancestor of Hon. Willoughby Newton. He had married the Widow Tucker, and Fitzhugh her daughter. Fitzhugh first courted the widow, but she being engaged to Newton, discarded him, but told him he might have one of her daughters, if he would wait till she grew up. He married the daughter in her eleventh year, and sent her to England to be educated. We give the anecdote as illustrative of the manners and customs of the times.

We will give now part of a letter to Mr. Luke of England, whose son had married Fitzhugh's sister. It shows how little money, in those simple and primitive times, was needed to set up a married gentleman in the highest circle of colonial society. The match between Luke's son and Fitzhugh's sister had been in part brought about by Nicholas Spencer, the secretary of the colony, and acting governor. Fitzhugh wishes Luke to understand that he had no hand in the match.

"Augt. 15th, 1690.

"HONORED SIR: Your son, which I always had an esteem for as a countryman and friend, by his own endeavors in compliance with Mr. Secretary Spencer's advice, and by the persuasion and solicitation of Mr. Secretary himself, as they have both assured me, and as Mr. Secretary himself informed me, is of [from being] a friendly countryman, more nearly concerned by an alliance which, together with what you have heard from Mr. Secretary he will inform you of that whole affair, at whose instance and request this now comes, he (yr son) being coming to pay his duty to you, and to crave your blessing, your advice and your assistance, now to launch him out into some happy subsistence in this world. I have told himself that if you could furnish him with a handsome farm in some part of your estate there (in England), it would be a comfortable subsistence, and which I believe would better sort with his desires, now he has seen the trouble of travelling and settling, but if your conveniency and occasion, or indeed inclination, do not agree to such a settlement, and you continue your resolution of settling him here, as Mr. Secretary told me you always designed, then, sir, I will presume at this instance to give you the best method for such a settlement, [here is an exordium that displays a training of intellect and cautious cunning not equalled even by Cicero, who, unfortunately, wanted both genius and courage.] which is by lodging in some merchant's hands in London 150 or 200 pounds for the buying a good convenient seat of land, which upon so much ready money, some may be in a short time purchased, and thereabout such another sum lodged in the hands of the *Royal African Company*, who for that will engage to deliver negroes here at 16 or 18, or to be sure at 20 pounds per head, which purchase so made of lands and negroes, the dependency upon a settlement so made, as horses, cattle, hogs, &c., are easily purchased here to begin with, and continually raised for a future support. Sir, a settlement thus made will make a handsome, and genteel, and secure subsistence, and, if there be any thing of care and industry, may be improved, but cannot well be mischieved, whereas if he should have three times the sums above mentioned, its certain it will yield him a great deal of tobacco, but if either neglect, carelessness or unskillfulness should happen, its always brought to nought, and if the best husbandry and greatest forecast and skill were used, yet ill luck at sea, a fall of the market, or twenty other accidents, may seize and overthrow the best industry.

"I am, sir, y'r obt. st."

"WM. FITZHUGH.

"To Oliver Luke, Esq., at Wood end, &c. &c."

It is remarkable that after the lapse of near two centuries, it is still found that tobacco cannot be grown profitably in large quantities. Six hands often make double as much money at tobacco as at cotton or sugar; but a crop of tobacco that employs sixty hands, always brings the farmer in debt.

We give next, parts of a long letter from Fitzhugh to his brother-in-law Luke, who was then in England. This letter throws some light on political history. It shows that the republican administration of William and Mary was despised and detested in Virginia as much as in England, and most despised by the proud Cavaliers, who were the sole authors of American independence. Lee refuses to take the oath of allegiance to William, yet the Lees—his grandchildren—not Jefferson, were foremost in the cause of independence. This letter contains severe remarks about Parson Waugh and Colonel Mason, the ancestor of Senator Mason. Waugh was a nonconformist episcopal clergyman, who, as history tells us, preached up a rebellion in Stafford county. He was a gentleman of talents: and to this day his posterity are highly respectable and talented people. Fitzhugh should not have coupled Mason's name with Waugh's. Mason, like Fitzhugh, was a royalist and a friend of the house of Stuart, but he was a liberal and a whig—not like Fitzhugh, a courtier and a tory. Mason was a favorite with the colonial government, and with the government in England after the revolution of 1688; and Fitzhugh, being a tory, got into bad repute, "*hinc illæ lacrymæ*," hence the abuse which Fitzhugh lavishes on his friend Mason. A few years thereafter, two of Fitzhugh's sons married two of Mason's daughters, as appears by the Fowke genealogy. It is delicate matter, even at this distance of time, to publish strictures on private character; but Waugh and Mason were historical characters; and surely, if Carlyle and Thackeray can invade the privacy of the Georges, who lived fifty and a hundred years after Mason and Waugh, without violating propriety, we shall not give offence by publishing contemporary strictures, obviously occasioned by mere political difference of opinion. Fitzhugh had, ere this, been trying to get the sheriffalty entailed in his family, saying he found one precedent for such entail in England, and that it was a common thing in Scotland. He had, also, written to the bishop of London, advising him to establish an ecclesiastical court in Virginia; indeed, Fitzhugh thought that the *plebs*, the rabble, the *sans culottes*, the "*mobiliū turba Quiritium*," were only made to be taxed and whipped. Then, there was a low and dangerous rabble in Virginia, though none now. Fitzhugh was more than half right as the population of Virginia then stood. There were very few negro slaves on the frontier, where he lived, but thousands of ignorant and criminal white servants, ripe at all moments for insurrection. They were not like the people of our day, but an ignorant mass, used to the most servile offices, without self-respect, without knowledge of law or government, and kept in subjection solely by fear. Accustomed to be whipped and branded on the cheek by their masters, they knew not how to govern themselves when set free from the control of those



masters. Demagogues like Parson Waugh easily deceived them, and excited them to attempt insurrection. They were a rabble, but no worse than the *sans culottes* and *proletariat* of Paris, the *lazzaroni* of Naples, the beggars of England, or the masses that pollute and disturb our Northern cities. No worse than the filthy crowds that emigrant ships daily empty from the jails and lazarettos of Europe upon the wharves of Boston, New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. It is such people that now threaten, under the banner of Black Republicanism, to invade the South.

Fitzhugh thus writes from Jamestown, where he was attending, as a lawyer, to his brother-in-law, Mr. Luke, who was then on a visit to his father in England :

"JAMESTOWN, October 27th, 1690.

"DEAR BROTHER : Because you will see I will miss no opportunity, I take this from Jamestown by the latter ship, to acquaint you that when I came from home, both your and my family were in health. Just this day, I minded the Secretary Cole about the sheriff's place, who still promises fair : time must give an account of his performance. You have a fair opportunity to serve yourself there by his lordship, to whom, before this, I hope you have applied yourself, and given him, from me, my most obedient service. [This was Lord Howard of Effingham, governor of Virginia, but residing in England.] And, withal, I would have you be actively industrious about the collector's place of our river, more particularly for the upper district, which was divided from Pope creek upward, and from thence downward, and was always formerly in two collectors' hands. . . . I question not you will fully manage, and rather than miscarry, I would have you concern your uncle Sir Henry Winch," etc., etc.

Parson Waugh was a nonconformist clergyman who, Burke says, attempted to stir up a rebellion in Stafford county. Fitzhugh, in this letter, gives the *finale* of that business. The Waughs have ever been and continue to be a highly respectable and intelligent family.

"The conclusion of Parson Waugh's business is, he has made a public and humble acknowledgment in the general court, by a set form drawn up by the court and ordered there to be recorded ; and is appointed to do the same in our court, as soon as I come home, with a hearty penitence for his former faults, and a promised obedience for the future, which he sincerely prays for the accomplishment of, and for the sake of his coat, I do, too."

Colonel Ludwell was sent by the house of burgesses to England, to obtain a repeal of the grant of the Northern Neck to Lord Culpeper. This grant, as finally made, seems to have been neither oppressive, unwise, nor improvident, for immigration was more rapid to the Northern Neck than to the rest of the colony ; and this must have been because the proprietors granted lands on more favorable terms than the colonial government.

Fitzhugh is determined that he shall not be suspected of liberalism, and thus writes to Luke :

"Colonel Ludwell's being at my house last summer, where you brought him, has occasioned me some ill thoughts from our lieutenant-governor, which he has declared to several, some of whom have been so kind as to inform me. He being informed that I joined with him in opposing the government about the Northern Neck, and that I was principal officer under him in the management of that affair, and divers other things, which raised a very great prejudice against me in his and some of the council's opinions, and I know not, may be so expressed to my Lord Howard in England. How clear I am of those asper-

sions yourself very well knows, being at my house the whole time of his being there; and as well know that I was no way concerned, either in one thing or the other, with him or any manner of his affairs, though I gave him the civility of my house, and had a sufficient trouble thereby, as you very well know. Please endeavor to know of my lord if there be any such representations made, and if there be, please to clear them to his lordship, and manifest my innocence as you may be able to testify, as being an eye-witness and ear-witness during his whole stay. But I think I am as well fitted for that as for my former troubles, when I stood in the gap and kept off an approaching rebellion (Waugh's), to my no small charge and trouble as you fully know—being sending almost every day for five months together, and writing with mine own hands above three quires of paper, to quash the raised stories and settle the panic fears; having my house most part of the time constantly thronged, and in daily expectation of being plundered by the rabble, and once of being treacherously murdered; for all which charge and trouble I being out, as you know, above £25 sterling, particularly for messengers sent severally up and down, besides the purchasing the powder and shot for our men in arms; for all which, I thought at least I deserved thanks, if no retaliation; but, thank God, I have missed them both, and can do it with cheerfulness, too; but to be disregarded, nay, and slighted too, and to see those mischievous active instruments, as you well know Waugh and Mason, etc., the only men in favor, and the only men taken notice of, grates harder than the non-payment for shot and other disbursements. I thought good to intimate this to you, that you may give my lord a particular account of that whole affair (wherein his lordship, as you know from those persons, missed not his share of scandal, etc.), and fully set forth to him the wickedness of Waugh and Mason," etc.

This was under the whig, the almost republican administration of William and Mary. Fitzhugh was out of favor because he was a tory, and Mason and Waugh in favor because they were whigs. It seemed never to have entered Fitzhugh's head that the people were made for aught else than to work and pay taxes to support greedy officials; yet he was a courtier, and ready to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, which his friend, Colonel Richard Lee, would not take, although, by his refusal, he lost the lucrative office of collector—which office Fitzhugh was now seeking. Outside his politics he was an admirable man; but they were detestable, and we are quite ashamed of them. As we certainly inherited nothing else from him, we hope we have not fallen heir to his politics. Though in favor of a strong government, we are still more in favor of independence of foreign rule, and of home government. The Lees appear to have been tories in politics, yet they were the first, the bravest, and most consistent in asserting and maintaining national independence. We are sure the colonies were never half so much oppressed by England, as is the South by the North; and as Lincoln is elected, we shall advocate another Declaration of Independence. Yet it must be recollected that there were very few negroes in the frontier region where Fitzhugh lived, and a large population of white servants who, on several occasions, had conspired to bring about bloody insurrection. There is now no such population in the South. Had we such a population, we, too, should call them *rabble*, and think they needed masters rather than votes. Slavery elevates all our white citizens, and keeps out those "miserable masses" that disturb the peace and endanger the security of other countries. To speak with respect of these masses is but to play the hypocrite and demagogue.

In 1684, Lord Howard, with great pomp and ceremony, entered into a treaty with the Five (Indian) Nations on the lakes in New-York. Virginia historians speak of it as a most important event that permanently restored peace between those Indians and the colony in Virginia. This is a gross mistake. This treaty, like all others with Indians, merely lulled the whites into a false sense of security. The whites ceased to keep guard, gave up their military organization, relying upon a treaty which the Indians did not intend to observe. You, Mr. Editor, in a late number of this REVIEW, stated that the Senecas, one of these lake tribes, extended their depredations as far South as Fort Hill, the residence, afterward, of Mr. Calhoun. Those incursions of these lake tribes prove that there were no permanent Indian settlements except on the Atlantic and Pacific, the lakes, and the Gulf of Mexico. The vast interior of the North American continent was merely an occasional fighting ground. Our Indians have been overrated. They were vastly below the lowest tribes of African negroes. They could only live by combining the fish and oysters to be had from the lakes and tide-water, with the game and the fruits of the forests. We give part of a letter from Fitzhugh to Nicholas Spencer, which is a valuable addition to history, and shows that treaties do not bind Indians, but only deceive the whites:

"July 4th, 1687.

"HONORED SIR: I just now received yours by your boy, wherein you mention you were pleased to hasten his despatch, for the sudden intelligence of the doubtful inroads of the Seneca Indians into our country, in their return with their spoils from James river, together with your directions to give notice to the inhabitants to be upon their guard, which order I shall readily obey, and I dare say the whole county will thank your honor for our early and timely advice, and will accordingly pursue the same; but what measures to take, should they be upon us, further than self-preservation dictates and directs, I know not, there being not one militia officer in commission in the whole county, and, consequently, people best spared cannot be commanded into service, and appointed to guard the remotest, most suspected, and dangerous places. I intend this day up to Captain Brent's, and with him shall consult what courses best to take in this present exigence, and accordingly pursue the same," etc., etc.

We see from this, that the boasted treaty with the Five Nations did not stop their incursions, but only served to disarm the whites and lull them into false security.

We know the trifling anecdotes we have given about a dark and early part of our colonial history, like the essays we wrote about the Rappahannock Valley, will interest many Virginians and Marylanders, but, unfortunately, this REVIEW, with its extensive circulation farther South, is little taken in this section. We shall continue to write essays about the colonial history and settlement of those States, with the hope that the border States are at last being aroused to the urgent necessity of consulting and inquiring as to Southern rights, Southern resources, Southern wrongs, and means and modes of redress. Soothing words to the North avail nothing, for they are attributed to our fears; and preparations for defence against Northern incursion are more incumbent on the border States than elsewhere. To prepare for defence it is necessary to know our

resources, and they are nowhere so fully and ably exposed as in this REVIEW. Why should the Border States spend hundreds of thousands to encourage silly trashy magazines and obscene pictorial papers from the North? Patronage of the North but increases her insatiate appetite for Southern spoils.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE SECESSION OF THE COTTON STATES:

ITS STATUS, ITS ADVANTAGES, AND ITS POWER.

THE secession of these States must necessarily be a peaceful one, because England, France, the rest of commercial Europe, and the western and northwestern States of the Union, require that it should be.

The programme of secession would be inaugurated by proceedings, deliberate, dignified, and determined.

The legislatures of the several States resolved upon secession would authorize delegates to be chosen from those States to meet in a general convention or congress, at some central point, as Montgomery, Alabama. This convention, meeting and organizing, would proceed to declare the absolute separation of the States assembled in convention from the Union—the basis upon which the constitution of the new confederacy should be formed, and the policy governing it—the entire freedom of trade with the whole world, and friendly relations with all nations and states, but entangling alliances with none.

This great revolution would be duly announced in advance of the overt act, so that England and France especially, and the Western States, should be made acquainted with its nature, and with the great commercial benefits that would result to them by its development.

The nature of the revolution would be due to a radical change in the political and commercial relations of the seceding States with the commercial world at home and abroad; by which a free market would be opened to general commerce; by which the great West would be relieved of duties ranging up to thirty per cent. on foreign articles consumed by its inhabitants; and by which their great staples would flow freely through the rivers and railways to Southern ports and sections; and there, in combination with the cotton, sugar, rice, and tobacco of those sections, form the basis of exchanges with the world.

The benefits to be derived to the commercial nations, at home and abroad, would be: First, the products of the great West, as well as of the South, whose chief interests lie in agriculture, would be transported to the home and foreign markets at cheaper rates than many of them now are, because the lines of railways to the Southern ports would transport freight every day in the year, unimpeded by the snow of winter; and, second, the foreign ships, being placed under free-trade principles, would so powerfully compete with the Northern ships as to reduce freights from its Southern ports to the lowest living rates. England and France, thus stimulated, would especially increase their steam commercial marine, and, in a very short time, relieved of the

great burdens now imposed in discriminating duties by the government of the Union, they would become the chief carriers of American products and supplies. Their ships would come loaded with products of every nation, and, delivering them at Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Fernandina, Pensacola, Mobile, and New-Orleans, would be reloaded with the rich products of the South and West. In less than six months from this time every one of the above ports will have been connected directly, by railways, with the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, and with the vast regions lying to the north, the south, the east, and the west. Nor are these facilities of intercommunication of the South with the West necessary to be mentioned in order to demonstrate the great political and commercial advantages which would be due to the secession of the cotton States, and which would be enjoyed by them and all countries trading with them.

\ Demonstrations already made, so patent to the mind of the statesman, viewing them either in their political and commercial, or in their national and international aspects, will be keenly perceived and vigilantly observed as their resultants are disclosed. And so important—almost vitally so—will they be to the interests of the observers, that the men of the West and the East will pause in their threatened hostility to the revolution; *while England and France would send powerful fleets to insure its peaceful maintenance.* The men of the West would not only instantly pause in any hostile course toward it, but they would demand that their great section should be united politically, as it would be commercially, to the new confederacy. In this movement they would be joined by such of the slave States as had kept aloof from the first movement of secession. And thus that great movement would have led directly, and in a brief time, to a more perfect union among twenty-four States—leaving the *shipping State* of Maine, and the commercial and manufacturing States of Massachusetts, Vermont, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, to work out their salvation in their own way. They would have a clear field to work in, for their present basis of trade, navigation, and manufactures, would have been entirely swept away. Indeed, all the great and glorious material prosperity they now enjoy, and so much boast of, would become “as the baseless fabric of a vision—leaving not a wreck behind.”

Their Searwards, Greeleys, Sumners, Wilsons, Morgans, *et id genus omne*—in short, the whole tribe of fanatics, speculators, and jobbers in politics—would strive, undoubtedly, to bring the power of the *crippled government* at Washington to stay, if not crush, the Southern revolution; but it would be a vain effort. *And perhaps their own necks might not be safe at the hands of a deceived and ruined people.*

The first demonstration of blockade of the Southern ports would be swept away by the English fleets of observation hovering on the Southern coasts, to protect English commerce, and especially the free flow of cotton to English and French factories. The flow of cotton must not cease for a day; because the enormous sum of £150,000,000 is annually due to the elaboration of raw cotton; and because 5,000,000



of people derive their daily and immediate support therefrom, in England alone, and every interest throughout the kingdom is connected therewith!

[A stoppage of the raw material from the cotton States of the South, either by failure of crops, or civil war, and its consequence, would produce the most disastrous political results—if not a revolution in England. This is the language of English statesmen, manufacturers, and merchants, in Parliament and at cotton associations' debate, and it discloses the truth.] Nor must the cotton States be invaded by land, for it would interrupt the cultivation of the great staple. The great cotton zone of the world must never cease to be cultivated; the plough, and the hoe, and the cotton gin, must never cease to move; but war and invasion would tend to that result, or at least create dangerous obstruction to cultivation. Invaders, then, would have to be restrained by force. And whence would that force be derived? From what has already been briefly considered, the answer is easily framed. The force would be derived from the West, whose interests lie in the free ports and free markets of the South. The force would be derived from England and France, whose interests are deeply concerned in maintaining an uninterrupted supply of cotton; in the free trade of the Southern and Western countries, and in the carrying trade of their great products; and the force would be derived from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina—the frontier slave States through which Northern troops would not be permitted to pass; and if they were, England would check that movement by blockading New-York, Boston, &c.

Neither leisure nor space admit, at present, of the elaboration of this subject. And I am content in having proved my proposition—that the secession of the cotton States must necessarily be a peaceful one: because England and France, the rest of commercial Europe, and the Western and Northwestern States of the Union, require that it should be.

The cotton States out of the Union, under a confederated government, would maintain their normal condition of peace with the commercial and manufacturing nations of the world. Peace with them, and with the States of the West, would restrain the active hostility of other States. Hence, the administration of the government of the confederacy would be simple and cheap, since its status would be due to the practice of free-trade principles; and to the unquestioned friendship and support of the commercial nations abroad; and to the agricultural States of the West at home. The confederacy would not be compelled to maintain either an army or navy, or a host of officeholders, due to a high tariff and other burdens upon trade and navigation.

It is now not disputed by political economists that just as trade becomes free, and the intercommunication of nations and states are relieved of restrictions of all kinds, whether imposed upon the machinery for transportation, or upon the merchandise and passengers transported—so its movement is extended and accelerated, and pro-

duction and demand are stimulated up to their normal point. And at this point the true equation of the world's interests rests—any deviation from which, either plus or minus, tending directly to those fluctuations and convulsions so common to trade in its present abnormal condition throughout the world. This truth is so universally acknowledged by the mechanic, merchant, financier, and statesman, that their influence is constantly exerted to relieve trade and its great highways of the obstructions by which they are surrounded and filled. That success has not hitherto attended the efforts made to remove at once these formidable barriers to perfect freedom in the premises, is due to the fear of territorial aggression among nations; of the disturbance of the balance of power; and of the dominancy of some one nation, unless checked and balanced by a combination of others. This fear leads directly to the maintenance of enormous standing armies and formidable navies; and, especially, of the locust-like followers, retainers, and suppliers of these armed forces, that are numbered by millions of men. The expenditures upon these herds of non-producers, idlers, and consumers, besides those due to the civil administration of governments, amount to such an array of figures that the sum total could not be raised by direct taxation imposed upon the people, hence the necessity of resorting to indirect taxation by imposts upon commerce at home and abroad. Nor can these heavy burdens be relieved in Europe until a new era of international relations is inaugurated, by which the security of nations may be obtained by other means than armies and navies, and their attendant expenses. But that era, if viewed at all, remains in the shadowy distance, without outline or dimensions sufficiently defined to give an idea that there is progress toward it, however slow.

There is but one commercial nation in the world which, in the absence of the necessity of a large standing army and a numerous navy, and, consequently, of a large revenue, could adopt the policy of free trade, and resort to direct taxation for the support of a cheap government. This nation requires its small army only for the protection of the Indian and Mexican frontiers; and its little navy is maintained rather for the protection and succor of its wrecked and abandoned citizens abroad, than to exhibit the emblems of its power by armed ships; for the power of that nation does not consist in armed legions, in war-ships, or in hosts of retainers. Its integrity, safety, and honor, is not due for their assurance to these brute forces; but it is due, exclusively, to the possession of the cotton zone of the world—the teeming productions of which afford food for the ravenous wants of the cotton factories of Europe and America—the cessation or abatement of supply of which aliment would reduce the manufacturing nations to a condition inane and moribund. This great power of cotton control is possessed by the United States; and its possession enables them to preserve their high attitude among the nations of the earth, and to maintain intact their international relations. In possession of this power, the United States might have long since enjoyed free trade with the world; and at the same time have raised the

necessary revenues (divested of all war items) for the support of an economical, honest, and efficient government. And this, very probably, would have been the line of policy adhered to, if rival interests of manufactories, navigation, and mines, had not existed in limited sections of the country, whose development and maintenance demanded protection by discriminating duties upon foreign goods and tonnage. The revenues derived from these imports have, generally, been sufficient for the support of the government, although its expenditures have been extravagant and wasteful in the extreme; and a portion of the people directly interested in the artificial productions of the country, united to the officeholders and their friends, have for the most part opposed the abolishment of this unfair, insidious, and corrupt mode of taxation. They have asserted their opposition in the face of the great and leading interests of the country; for it can be shown that four fifths of the people of the United States are directly or indirectly engaged and concerned in agriculture, the products of which require free markets and unimpeded transits to the same; and it can, consequently, be demonstrated that that overshadowing influence of agriculture, as well as the internal and external commerce due to its support, would be expanded and enriched, just in proportion as freedom was given to their natural movement; and not only so, but that the interests of manufacturers, ship-owners, and miners, would be sustained, and made more profitable than they are now. And yet the machinations of those engaged in manufactures, and in the shipping and mining interests of the Northern portions of the United States, adroitly combined with the advocacy of expensive armies and navies, and of internal improvement; and generally of the advocates for large revenues, and corresponding extravagant and wasteful expenditure by the general government, have, in the face of demonstrations, accurate as mathematics—the logic of facts—succeeded, up to this time of our history, in inducing our people and the government to reject the results, and to cling to the chains, supplied by import and tonnage duties, to fetter their movements in the paths of free trade. Spasmodic efforts have been made by wise statesmen, and by the people of the agricultural sections, at different periods of legislation, to break down the barriers to free trade, and to demonstrate the beneficial results to the whole country, and, in time, to the world, that their removal would produce.

The responses to these noble efforts have been shown only by the powerful restraints, but not subjection, of the ultra tariff advocates, and by the *precepts but non-practice* of the statesmen of commercial Europe. Nor can it be prudently or reasonably expected that a change can be suddenly effected in international relations, calculated to reduce the armed forces of nations and their attendant enormous expenditures, by which even the initiative of free trade can be inaugurated, at least, in that tangible form to make conviction of its possibility follow the touch. But the future of Europe is, nevertheless, promising; and looking to the general pacification of Europe and the world, under the true principles now manifested by the illustrious

Napoleon III., for the integrity, the security, and the honor of nations, we are assured of the universal reduction, at no distant day, of the armed forces of the world, and of the return of the men composing them to the labor of the fields and of the workshops. Under the influence of wise counsels, the emanations of the mind of Napoleon, many steps will be taken firmly, but cautiously, in the paths of free trade; and no steps will be taken backward till every path is printed with them. But in the United States, where the people are subject to sectional issues, growing out of the manufacturing, shipping, and mining interests, adverse to agricultural ones, it must not be expected that a system of discriminating duties upon imports and tonnage will be readily yielded, especially by the fanatical and ignorant party that now dominates the general government. A change may not, then, take place favorable to free trade, for many years to come, unless a sectional revolution should be inaugurated, by which the agricultural section shall be disrupted from the adverse section. Heretofore, a devotion to the union of these States has filled the hearts of our people, which, in its blindness, can be compared only to that so ascetic in its character as to count the sacrifice of life itself a trifle, than to fail in it for a moment. And this devotion has rendered our citizens unmindful of their true interests, and enabled a minority in the government to dominate over them, and to destroy that equality of rights among the several States of the Union, by which alone their union may be perpetuated. Constant aggression on the score, and this success of the aggressors have made them arrogant, unreasonable, and unjust, in the exercise of power—to such a degree, indeed, as to cause an awakening of the people, the recovery of their vision, and a determination to resist. Still extreme measures have not been resorted to, because the resistants, being contented with partial victories over their opponents, have permitted them to occupy some of their positions without molestation. These positions have enabled the occupiers still to impose shackles upon the freedom of trade, of sale, and purchase.

Though it might be in place here to attempt an analysis of the causes of this feeling of devotion to the Union, which, heretofore, has pervaded the people of this broad land; and, especially of the causes which have, in a brief period, led directly to its check, decrease, and threatened extinction; still, it would be too great a deviation from the course of argument proposed to be followed in this paper, to admit of its indulgence. As before hinted at, the proposition is now made, that a change so radical in the trade of the country, as to give up all restrictions upon it, so that the sale of the productions and the purchase of the necessary supplies should be put upon the same and unembarrassed terms as those which exist between individual men, cannot be made without a political as well as commercial revolution: a revolution which shall disrupt the agricultural section from the antagonistic—the manufacturing, shipping, and mining section.

These antagonistic sections—grown rich and powerful under a sys-



## ITS STATUS, ADVANTAGES, ETC.

tem of direct bounties yielded by the government to their manufactories, ships, fisheries, and their mines, as well as from the commerce maintained under the exchanges afforded by the vast products of the agricultural sections for the foreign supplies—have not rested contented and happy in the enjoyment of the material prosperity which surrounds them. They have not seen that they might have, for years to come, possessed and yielded power by the same indirect means by which it had hitherto been sustained. But, grown arrogant, unwise, and even foolish, in their prosperity, they have permitted the demagogues among them to drive their section into direct antagonism with that section of the Union in which is found (and therein only), the source of that very prosperity and power which they seek to use in the oppression, contumely, and subjugation of the possessors of the cotton zone. And, although warned of the inevitable consequences of such unwise, unjust, and dishonest practice of a miserable policy, the blind fanatics of the Northern sections, stimulated, encouraged, and driven onward, by their unprincipled leaders, have persisted in their foolish career, until a widespread indignation and determination for resistance fills the breast of every true citizen of the section whose rights have been invaded, and whose best interests are threatened to be destroyed. And this is the issue now pending between the great sections of the United States, existing by the determined aggression of the one, and of the equally determined resistance of the other. And I pray God that he may have so dispensed it, as to make, from this time forward, a reconciliation under concession and recession impossible! A far-seeing, wise, and honest man of the North has declared that the Northern and Middle States, with their priest-ridden and fanatical populations, backed by their artificial status, due to manufactures and navigation with their bounties, as opposed to free trade, cannot live in harmony with the agricultural sections of the South and West, and, by-and-by, with those of the Northwest. The elements of discord have been too widely sown to prevent their multiplication and maturity, until their growth shall be cut short by a whirlwind in the shape of a political revolution; a revolution that shall change the status both of the free States and the slave States, not only presently but permanently, through all time, or at least, until the great cotton zone of the world, lying within the slave States, shall cease to produce its powerful staple.

From causes slightly glanced at, it is apparent that the great revolution is now pending; requiring, indeed, only the proper arrangements for its speedy and peaceful accomplishment.

There is but one attitude that the slave States can assume toward the avowed and achieved dominancy of a sectional party over the general government—numerous, powerful, and determined, as it is in its aggressive policy—and whose leaders have declared that the conflicts with slavery shall not cease until it is abated, subdued, and finally destroyed. And they, the slave States, or, at least, the cotton States, must at once determine to dismiss the *quasi* and assume the *fact* of revolution. The question of time is settled by its



being due to the meeting of the legislatures of at least the cotton States.

Assuming, then, the revolution as *un fait accompli*—a thing in its fulfilment complete within itself, and its fulfillers actuated by no desire to take one step backward in the process—the question will be again asked, what will be the status of the slave or cotton States in their sovereign and independent condition? And it will be again answered, that it will be that which is due to the inherent power of those States to maintain, against the world, their integrity, their independence, and the prosperity due to the possession of the cotton zone of the world; and it may again be further answered, that this power and prosperity will be, and, indeed, is triply fortified and maintained by the entire power of England, France, and the commercial world, whose interests, almost vitally so, depend upon the production of millions of bales of cotton in the slave States; while the prosperity of those leading nations would be greatly enhanced by the free markets and free ships which the declaration of free trade would open to them.

This would be the status of the cotton States, exhibiting it to the world as one of unconquerable strength, assured prosperity, and of impregnable independence. These being established, it only remains to show what advantages in progressive culture, internal and external trade, wealth, and power, would result from the great political revolution, giving to the cotton States, and those joining with them, the attributes of sovereignty and the power to maintain them. By the operation of free trade, the commerce and shipping of the world would be attracted to the Southern ports; by the removal of a burden of thirty per cent. upon foreign goods and shipping, the agricultural regions of the West and Northwest would direct their trade through their rivers and railways to the Southern ports; and being commercially bound to the cotton States, they would claim under a revolutionized opinion among themselves, a political connection due to common interests defined and united in a constitution of government so framed as to insure harmony, not discord, under it. And while these things were enacted with a celerity due to the advantages to be reaped by these agricultural States, an exodus, unexampled in the world's movement, either of traditionary or historical times, would pour forth from the dark and fanatical regions of the North, into the smiling regions of the South and West. The migration from Europe, under the influence of free trade and the increasing demands for American production, would produce a movement in that direction far surpassing any known in the history of the European exodus into America. Thus population, with its attendant wealth and power, would be stimulated and increased; and through such an example, the neighboring States, provinces, and colonies, throughout the North American continent, would be urged to assume the same status. The fanatical demagogues of the Northern and Middle States would be deprived of power by an indignant and ruined people; but these States, with energies and intellect awakened by the severe ordeal to which a dissolution of the Union will have

subjected them, would either claim to be admitted into the new confederacy of free trade States, or, in their independent condition, endeavor to recover their losses, in some degree, by the adoption of free trade principles. To this political and commercial condition, Canada and the British provinces must come at last; and to this condition Cuba and Mexico would willingly assimilate, either by annexation to the Southern and Western confederacy, or by the practice of free trade principles as sovereign and independent nations.

Under these movements, and through their attendant wealth and power, the completion of the great lines of communication, and the commencement of new ones, would connect the valleys of the Mississippi, Missouri, Red river, the Rio Grande, and the magnificent valleys of Mexico, with New-Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, Apalachicola, St. Marks, Key West, Fernandina, Savannah, Charleston, and Norfolk. Under these influences the values of property would be enhanced, and yet not to a degree so as to discourage any one from efforts to possess it. While the aggregate value of the lands in the South and West would be greatly increased, there would be millions of acres held within our wide domain at prices that any industrious man could give. For, great as the influx of laborers and cultivators would be to our Southern and Western fields, yet the "farther Ind" would still unfold its rich soil to their enterprise and industry.

A confederacy possessing such elements of wealth, prosperity, and power, would possess, also, the elements of peace at home, and the means, under a wise and just government, of preserving it with foreign nations; because, producing naturally what those countries wanted and could not do without, and requiring what they produced in manufactures and by handicraft, they would, as it has already been shown, remain in sympathy with the new confederacy. Hence, no armies or navies would be required to preserve either national or international relations; neither these, nor a host of officeholders due to the collection of revenue of a high tariff, would be necessary to the maintenance of the government of the confederacy. In short, the annual expenditures for the same need not, for all efficient purposes, exceed those now due to one of the large States of the Union.

I have thus endeavored to present this subject to my readers so briefly as to enable every man and woman to receive it, and turn it over in their minds, without encroaching too much upon time demanded by other objects. And this brief—almost epigrammatic—treatment of propositions that embrace the probabilities of a great political revolution, has its advantages, if used toward intelligent persons; for, while it saves the author the labor of elaboration, it affords him the comfortable assurance that it would be better and more profitably done by them than it could be by myself. Commending, it, then, to such readers—whether found in the field, the workshop, or the banker's parlor—I rely upon acknowledgments from them that matter and argument have been afforded for deep reflection, even if they do not receive immediate approval and incite to instant action.

W. H. CHASE.

## ART. IX.—SOUTHERN PATRONAGE TO SOUTHERN IMPORTS AND DOMESTIC INDUSTRY.

## Chapter XI.

WE trust that it has been made manifest to the people of the South that a prosperous state of commerce and manufactures is essential to us, not only in a pecuniary point of view, but absolutely necessary to render us politically independent. The impression has gone abroad at the South that we are not a manufacturing people by nature, and that such branches of industry will not succeed with us. People have various ways of accounting for our want of success. Some attribute it to the lack of laborers, which is a glaring error. We think we have, in our preceding numbers, explained the true cause of embarrassment.

But for the want of home patronage our manufacturing establishments would have outridden the storm which lasted for ten years—from 1847 to 1857—and which prostrated and blighted the manufacturing interests of the whole Union—particularly the Northern States. When we compare the present with the past, it will be seen that there has been a wonderful degree of progress made during the last fifteen years at the South, equal to an increased consumption of cotton to the amount of one hundred thousand bales. This was all done in the course of about five years—from 1845 to 1850—and shows a spirit of enterprise almost unexampled in any country in the infancy of manufactures.

The blight which was brought upon American spinners by the change in the tariff of 1846, caused much greater losses to the people of New-England engaged in that branch of industry, in proportion to the capital invested, than was sustained by a similar class of capitalists in the Southern States. The change in the tariff effected at that time, which came so soon after the compromise on that subject, was considered by New-England unjust and unkind. That compromise was considered satisfactory to all parties. Many, smarting under heavy losses, the result of that act, determined to be revenged; and this was the egg from which has been hatched demagogue pulpit orators and politicians, to rant and poison public sentiment in the free States, against our institution of slavery. And were it not founded in nature, and sanctioned by the Bible and the teachings of its blessed Author, they would never rest until they uprooted it entirely. But our security lies in the fact, that "truth is mighty, and will prevail."

We have been led to believe that the change in the tariff, above alluded to, was unnecessary. It opened a wide door to swindling importers, and worked against honest dealers; its bearings were not understood by our politicians, its results not fully anticipated; it produced no good to any one in the country, and it prostrated and nearly ruined the manufacturing interests of the United States, by cutting off a heavy export and exchange trade with South America and other countries, while it gave a powerful impetus to English manufactures, and transferred a large manufacturing accession from this country to Great Britain. But that change in the tariff was not alone the work

of the South; it was the joint action of a political party. It was the opinion of the leading capitalists of New-England, in 1845, that the additions to their machinery, which they expected would be made in ten or fifteen years from that time, would double their capacity to consume cotton, and that, during that short period, they would become larger customers to us than Great Britain. And we verily believe that, but for the tariff of 1846, such would have been the result, and the South would now be consuming three or four hundred thousand bales instead of only one hundred and fifty thousand. The moderate profit of ten per cent. on well-managed investments would have secured such results; the average price of cotton would have been higher, and every species of industry at the South better paid than has been the case.

It was in 1845 and 1846 the great water-power at Lawrence was completed. That at Holyoke, on the Connecticut river, was commenced about the same time. Preparations were made at Holyoke to run one hundred cotton factories of the size of Graniteville, (and that factory consumes about four thousand bales of cotton per annum.) At Lawrence, sixty more could be driven. These, together with similar establishments, either commenced or anticipated, and with the steam mills which were being erected, would have carried the number of new cotton mills, equal in capacity for the consumption of cotton to Graniteville, to over two hundred, long before this time; and would, in all probability, have placed us on a footing with Great Britain in the manufacture of cotton.

We have never been an advocate for heavy tariffs for protection; but long experience, together with an intimate knowledge of the cost of articles of general consumption for the last forty years, has brought us to the conclusion that the tariff of 1828 and 1830, which seemed to be, and was, grievously oppressive to the planting interests of the South, has proven to result in a greater harvest to us than to those sections of country that clamored for protection to manufactures.

And so impulsive are the capitalists of our country, that if a heavy tariff were imposed on iron, five years would not elapse before the mountains, from Alabama to Maine, would be in a blaze with furnaces and iron works. The result would most inevitably be, that home competition would soon so reduce the price of iron, that such establishments would break down from inability to pay interest on the capital invested. That, however, would not stop their operations; they would probably change hands, just as unprofitable railroads and manufacturing establishments do, and be carried on with renewed vigor by the new owners, who, not burdened with a heavy investment in the first outlay, would be better able to stand sharp competition. This whole country would be supplied with home-made railroads, and all other iron cheaper and infinitely superior in quality to the English article; and a large share of that princely business, the manufacture of iron, would be speedily transferred from England to the mountain-regions of the United States.

The advantages which the manufacturer obtains over the consumer

by a tariff of protection, is only temporary, and finally results in a great boon to the consumer, and the individual loss is a national benefit. The tariff, as an enemy to the South, is a pigmy compared to the slavery question, which, giant-like, now looms up before us.

We do not make these assertions without abundant proof, although it would seem that every mind should be convinced. That we procure coarse cotton goods cheaper than England or any other European country can furnish them, is manifest to all men. Do we want proof? The goods manufactured at the Augusta mills, are sold for at least forty thousand dollars per annum cheaper than the same quantity of goods, of similar quality and durability, could be furnished by any English manufacturer. The same can be said of the Boswell mills in Georgia, Graniteville, S. C., and of a similar number of spindles fully worked anywhere at the South, and we might add in New-England. We have proof of it in the fact that no such goods are imported into this country, and would not be in the absence of a tariff, not even with a bounty of ten per cent. from England.

Napoleon Bonaparte was but a young man when he took command of the French army. He advised his gray-headed generals (who were thoroughly versed in military tactics) to throw away their books, that he would cut out a new system—which he did, and changed the military tactics of the world. And we would suggest to our great politicians, who have studied deeply the science of political economy, that they should throw aside Adam Smith, and all the great writers on that subject, and study the book of common every-day experience; taking advantage of all the lights and shades that have been cast on the subject by the new era, that has, by the aid of machinery, revolutionized mechanical labor and its results all over the world, and completely changed the currents and course of commerce.

Only a few years ago, the finer fabrics of cotton goods were imported into England and America from China; now, there is a strife between all manufacturing countries for the ascendancy in supplying China with cotton goods.

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#### ART. X.—A PLAN OF PRESENT PACIFICATION :

OR, A BASIS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION, IF IT BE DISSOLVED.

CONVICTION has at length been forced upon the minds of all, that, without the utmost prudence, caution, and statesmanship, the Union of these States cannot longer be preserved. Events have pressed on so rapidly since the fatal sixth of November, that even now it may be too late to make propositions of settlement or conciliation. Nevertheless, it is the duty of all who do not desire dissolution for itself, each in his own way, to strive to avert the impending calamity.

The causes which have produced the existing state of things have been so long in operation, the irritation of the public mind has be-



come so intense and so widespread, so much prejudice, and so much bad feeling, have been engendered, that it would be idle to propose any measure of temporary adjustment intended merely to allay present excitement. The times demand not demulcents to soothe, but strong and energetic remedies to reach the very seat and centre of the disease. Temporary expedients now are worse than useless, and would only postpone the evil day of a final rupture. Something, then, must be done, and that quickly, to satisfy the Southern States that they can remain in the Union with honor, and without the sacrifice of the sense of security for their peculiar interests against the power of dominant majorities.

Mr. Seward asserted, in one of his speeches during the recent campaign, that *the time had at last come when the South was not only without power, but without influence in the government*. Although this is not strictly true, the period is rapidly approaching when it will be true, if the South should peaceably remain in the Union, under the present Constitution. It is well known that the North has now controlling majorities in both branches of the legislative, in the executive, and will soon have in the judicial department of the government, and that these majorities have already passed, or are about to pass, into the hands of the Republican party.

In this condition of things, long foreseen, the South now at last finds herself absolutely without the power of self-protection in the Union. The realizing of this humiliating fact, more than all other causes, numerous and irritating as they have been, has produced the dangerous excitement now existing in that part of the country. It is obvious that these States, with all their diverse, and in some respects their opposing and conflicting interests, cannot exist together in peace under a common government without an equilibrium in some one of its branches of the rival sections of which it is composed. Up to 1850 this equilibrium, long before lost in the House of Representatives, still existed in the Senate, and that body had the power, and it frequently exercised it, to arrest legislation unfriendly to the weaker section. By the admission of California, and subsequently of Minnesota and Oregon, the North has acquired supremacy in this body also, although even up to this time, by the coöperation on all sectional questions of certain senators from the North with those of the South, the latter has been able to protect herself from aggression. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that, since 1850, every democratic senator whose term has expired, we believe, without a single exception, has been succeeded by a republican, until now, including recent gains in Oregon, California, Indiana, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania, that party, by the admission of Kansas, soon to take place, will have a majority in the Senate. And not only have there been no indications of reaction since the republican movement first commenced, but that great and powerful party, like an army in its march, has gone on, conquering stronghold after stronghold, until at this day scarcely a legislature, or a governor, or a local court, or even a municipal corporation of an

important town, in any one of the non-slaveholding States, is in the hands of its opponents.

Whether justly or unjustly, the South regards the ascendancy of this party in the government as dangerous to her rights and insulting to her honor—that existing wholly beyond her limits, it is alien to her people, and proposing the exclusion of her property from the common territories, it is hostile to her interests. The events which have already taken place, and those which are now transpiring, must convince the most careless observer that she will not meekly bow the neck to receive so galling a yoke. Any remedy, therefore, looking either to a present pacification, or to a reconstruction of the Union, if unhappily it is now too late to prevent its dissolution, must be based upon the idea of the equality of *sections* as well as of States. Anything less than this failing to reach the source of our present and our past difficulties, will fail to accomplish the end of their permanent settlement.

Mr. Webster once said that the American Revolution was fought for a preamble—not on account of intolerable oppression by Great Britain, but because of the assertion by her of the right of taxation without representation. In like manner the South has been battling in the Union, not so much on account of wrongs actually inflicted by the North as against the right of Northern sectional domination. The nullification of the fugitive slave law, as a real grievance, is felt by comparatively but a few persons in the border States. Protection of slave property in the territories, if granted, would be of but little practical influence in fashioning the character of the future States against the superior ability of the North for colonization. The defeat of the Wilmot proviso has yielded no substantial advantages. The repeal of the Missouri compromise was a barren victory. The Dred Scott decision, even if accepted, will never make a slaveholding State. The contests on these questions have been but incidents in the great struggle to prevent the supremacy of the North as a hostile section; and the South will never consent to trust the institution of slavery, in any of its relations, domestic, social, political, or economic, to the forbearance of a majority animated with deadly enmity to its existence. The movements which have already been initiated in several of the Southern States, and the deep feeling which pervades all of them, show a fixed determination to have a settlement of this question, either in the Union, by amendment of the Constitution, or by secession—peaceful, if permitted; or armed, if resisted; but, whether peaceful or armed, secession is revolution or overthrow of the authority of the federal government. The right of secession is but the right of revolution, which, according to our view, would inhere in the very nature of our government, even if it did not result necessarily from the express refusal of the convention which framed the Constitution, to insert the power of coercing rebellious States. Each State must judge for itself whether it has just cause for revolutionary resistance to the general government, either for “the deliberate, palpable, and

dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the Constitution," or for the unjust and oppressive use of those which are granted. For example, it will scarcely be denied that it would be proper for the Southern States, to resist any restriction or abridgment of the inter-State slave trade, the power over which is clearly embraced in the constitutional provision for regulating commerce, or the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, in the forts, magazines, arsenals, and dock-yards of the United States, under the power of exclusive jurisdiction given to Congress, or the appointment of all the officers of the government from the same State or section, under the unlimited power to appoint given to the executive. It is, therefore, evident that intolerable oppression and tyranny might be exercised within the powers which are clearly granted by the Constitution, or by the plausible perversion of those which are doubtful.

It is obvious, from what has been said above, that any mode of permanent settlement of our sectional differences must be upon the basis of a concession to the South of a perpetual power of self-protection. This could easily be accomplished by an amendment of the Constitution, requiring for the passage, now and hereafter, of any law affecting the institution of slavery, a majority of votes from both the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States for the time being in each branch of the federal legislature, and that this provision be placed beyond the reach of future amendment, except by the consent of both sections. This would be equally effective for protection, and perhaps it would be less objectionable if the majority were required in only one branch; and it would be more in conformity with the organization of the government, that it should be made to apply to the Senate. The effect of this provision would be to make that body, in some respects, the representative of *sections*, as well as of States, leaving the House, as at present, the representative of numerical majorities. A great advantage of this plan of settlement is, that it merely extends to *sections* the principle which is already incorporated in the Constitution with regard to States. Under a clause in the Constitution, no State can be deprived of its equality in the Senate except with its own consent. In consequence of this provision, there never has been jealousy between the larger and the smaller States, as such. Rhode Island, Delaware, and Florida, feel secure in all their rights, and fear no encroachment upon them by New-York, Pennsylvania, or Virginia, and for the reason that those States have not the power, under the Constitution, to oppress them, if they had the desire to do so. This principle, applied to sections, would operate with equal success, and would harmonize discord by obliterating its cause. It cannot be doubted that sectional hostility has been much aggravated by mingling the question of slavery with the struggle for sectional supremacy. If the South were rendered secure against aggression by perpetual equality in the Senate, the motive for competition being removed, she would become comparatively indifferent to the colonization of the territories, and the passions aroused on both sides by competition and rivalry, would naturally subside and give place to kinder feelings. The more rapid progress of the North in

population and in the development of power would then cease to alarm, for the reason that this power could not be used adversely to her institutions.

It is well known that among the most serious differences in the convention which framed the Constitution, were those which resulted from the contests between the larger and smaller States concerning representation in Congress. By the compromise agreed upon, the larger States yielded equal representation to all in the Senate, while the smaller consented to representation according to population in the House. To give equal representation to *sections* in the Senate, or, what amounts to precisely the same thing, to require the majority of votes from both sections for the enactment of a law, now, would not be a greater departure from the majority principle than our fathers agreed to, in giving equal representation to States. Under the Confederation, each of the States, large and small, had but a single vote, and therefore had equal influence in all branches of the government. Under the Constitution, the States have equal influence in the Senate only; and under the Constitution, if amended by the plan proposed, *sections* would have equal influence in the Senate. By restricting this equality of sections to the single subject of slavery, the concession asked from the North is not one of great magnitude, nor one which it would be improper for her to make, since the effect of it would be merely to place the institution of slavery under the control of those among whom it exists, and who alone have the right to control it.

The chief merit of the plan we propose is, that it can easily be applied, that it requires no machinery to put it into operation, that it is in conformity with a principle already engrafted in the Constitution, and that it would be as effective in practice as it is simple in form. Mr. Calhoun's plan of a double executive would equally accomplish the purpose of a perpetual sectional equilibrium, but it labors under the disadvantage of being both cumbrous and complex, and departs from the salutary principle of single executive responsibility incorporated not only in our own Constitution, but in that of nearly all governments in modern times. If, in addition to this qualified sectional equilibrium, the North would consent to the right of transit with slave property, and the right of sojourn for a limited period, it might not be extravagant to hope for a return of the era of good feeling, and our whole country would then commence afresh, from a new starting-point, a career of glory, of power, and of prosperity, unsurpassed in ancient or in modern history; and the bond of the Union, in this hour of darkness and of peril, like the mystic girdle of the White Lady of Avenal, now diminished to the fineness of a silken thread, would then again become a massive golden chain broad as the baldric of an earl.

A. ROANE.

December 8, 1860.

## DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

## 1.—STEAMSHIP LINE FROM THE SOUTH TO THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

In the present political condition of the country, and in the almost certainty of the realization of a Southern Republic, the following letter to the editor, from Raymond Thomassy, will be read with interest. It was written and submitted to his inspection several years ago, and was intended to be read before the Southern Convention. The times were not then ripe for the movement. Mr. Thomassy is a very intelligent French gentleman, who has recently become a citizen of Louisiana:

Among the steamship lines plying between America and the Old World, none can be compared, in the conditions of financial, commercial, and political success, with the first direct line to be established between the Southern States and the great markets of the Mediterranean sea. The old steamship lines now in operation in the free States are, by dividing between them the trade of England and Northern Europe, lessening more and more the profits of it; so that by an excessive competition, financial profits for their stockholders are rendered nearly impossible. In such a situation, the best management is of very little avail; and, therefore, Northern lines seem to become financially impracticable, even on the supposition that the travelling people from the South to Europe would remain a permanent and essential part of their freight.

The actual lines being a financial failure, we must look at a new one starting from the South. Now, in order to prevent misapplication of this scheme, let us remark first that our steamship communication with Europe must give up any Northern market there, and find its own way directly to the Mediterranean sea.

This transoceanic line, whether starting from the Atlantic shores, or from the Mexican gulf, will have a noble and mighty destiny to fulfil; it is to renew, under better circumstances, the historical bonds and exchanges which once, under the old colonial despotism, united the greatest and best part of America to the Southern nations of Europe. With *Free trade* printed on its flag, our steamship line, carrying the mail and first-class of travellers and merchandise to the Mediterranean, will open directly its immense market to the American States.

Of course, a new sail navigation will soon start for the same purposes, loaded with cotton, rice, sugar, and salted provisions, and will double, in a very few years, the wealth of Southern producers. As understood by all and every one, the shipping interest, which now belongs exclusively to the North, will become to the South an essential part of her political power.

The means of support which such a line would have are:

1st. In receiving from the Treasury such a compensation as might be proper for carrying to Europe the Southern mail.

2d. In receiving, through European stockholders, a similar indemnification for bringing their mail to America.

3d. But the best and surest profit will result from monopolizing the transport of travellers, money, and articles of small bulk, during the winter season, and nearly the whole year; for people seeking health or recreation will certainly avoid, with the North Atlantic, its fierce gales, fogs, and icebergs—the terror of landsmen. As to the simple business travellers, a more Southern journey, without storms, will not be longer than a Northern one.

4th. Another profit will result from this safer navigation, which is to diminish the price of insurance, and save the commissions and exchanges paid to Northern factors, and thus forward cheaper and safer the raw material of manufacture now supplied second hand from Liverpool.

5th. The steam propellers, with the sailing vessels, their necessary followers, will bring back to America the Mediterranean trade, especially the dry goods



and wines of France, Spain, Italy, and Switzerland, and all articles of luxury, at a price reduced from 30 to 60 per cent.

Such is the course of exchanges, which is to give new life to the South, either on the Atlantic shores or on the Mexican gulf, and make Charleston and Savannah, as well as New-Orleans, markets of an elegant and wealthy society, while these cities will always remain the ruling ports for the cotton, rice, and salted provisions—wanted more and more by the Old World.

Grounded on these sound considerations, the new enterprise cannot fail, especially when avoiding all the drawbacks of the Northern steamship lines. In supplying, directly, Cadiz, Barcelona, Marseilles, and Genoa, which are becoming rapidly large manufacturing cities, the first line of Southern steam propellers ought to pay to its stockholders very large dividends. We will give, hereafter, a financial analysis of their expenses and profits, the question being now a mere question of principle for the political economy of the South.

In must be noticed, also, relating to the importance of the Mediterranean market, that in Italy, as in Spain, the laboring classes are now manufacturing in their country houses, and for their private garments, millions and millions of pounds of wool, and await the importation of cotton among them.

Italy has been already the manufacturing England of the Middle Ages, when the Mediterranean Sea was gathering and concentrating the great interests of the Old World up to the discovery of the passage of the Cape of Good Hope. But now, by the coming back of trade to the Isthmus of Suez, and by the development of the Eastern question, the same great interests of Europe and Asia are coming again together in the Mediterranean Sea. That is a manifest destiny. Now is the very moment of bringing regularly and speedily the flag of the *Southern American Free-trade* all over this market of historical fame and future greatness.

For half a century this market, in spite of its geographical advantages and more natural policy, has been ruled by the artificial skill of British merchants, clothed by British dry goods and cottonades, and provided by British codfish. But the Italian people, with the American cotton and American fisheries and salted provisions, could very well supply themselves cheaper and better, to the great profit of the American production, and also to the most peaceful and glorious union of the Old and New World. Italy, whose sons have discovered America, waits for your Free Trade, true daughter of her first political economy!

Southern France also waits for you, ready to forward you her merchandise of luxury, a great deal cheaper; and her healthy wines, pure and genuine, not adulterated by Northern merchants with brandy, whiskey, or sulphuric acid, but such as is produced by the most temperate of climates—such as ladies can taste without injury, or gentlemen without becoming drunk; such as are wanted for the public health, as febrifuge, tonic, and hygienic articles, by every class of consumers.

European capitalists, in their turn, wait for your enterprise, and I am perfectly sure, will become stockholders and partners with you.

One word more, and I have done. Hitherto, the South has been a sealed book for the Old World, which sees our social and economical system but through the slanders of our political opponents. Ideas following step by step merchandise, and accurate true notions follow always the good management of honest traders. Thus will it be by your direct trade that France, at last, will know better your Southern institutions, will know them as they are, and not as they are misrepresented by English and Yankee abolitionists, and believed by credulous philosophers and statesmen.

Your obedient servant,

RAYMOND THOMASSY.

## 2.—FLORIDA FISHES AND FISHERMEN.

Henry D. Butler, of the Aquarial Gardens, of Boston, lately made an exploring visit; and from his report we extract the following particulars referring to Key West:

We were not long in finding an efficient boat's crew, composed of fishermen, who obtain a somewhat scanty living by supplying the Key West market. These are a curious class of men. They are natives of the Bahama Islands, brought up as fishermen, and adhering through life to that occupation. They are by no means lacking in natural abilities, and to the extent of their wants and their ambition, are as wide awake to the main chance as any Yankee from the furthest Down-East. But to use a common phrase, "their education has been sadly neglected." In this respect, and with regard to accomplishments, they are very decidedly below par, and this without an exception. One day, as they were rowing the boat near the shore, I asked one of them where the people of Key West buried their dead. His reply was: "The sailors who dies, we buries all along here in the sand; but us folks what dies, we buries all of them up here in the *seminary*." I looked for the "seminary," but did not find it.

Our first day's operations were confined to the neighborhood of the shore, and the fish we caught were, therefore, of the smaller kind. But our net must have been cast on "the right side of the ship," as we drew in large quantities of the finny tribes. As a naturalist, I was disappointed at not finding greater varieties. A large proportion of them were cowfish (*Astracion Sexocornutus*). This fish has six horns, two of which are between the eyes. It is triangular in shape, and resembles the trunkfish of our waters (*Lactophrys Yalcii*). It is finely marked; and those we caught, ranged from three to eight inches long. In the Gulf of Mexico they are very large, and are highly esteemed for the table. Having obtained specimens of all the fishes in this locality, we rowed to the northeast shore. Only those who have prosecuted such an expedition, can conceive how purely local are the haunts of the ichthyological tribes. Comparatively short as was the distance we had passed over, we here found quite a different class of fishes. We caught large numbers of sardines (*Engraulis melele*), and three varieties of the Hamulon, viz.: the red mouth (*Hamulon chrysopteron*), the grunt-fish (*Hamulon arcuatum*), and the black-tailed grunt-fish, species undescribed. The last two derive their common name from the peculiar sound they emit when taken in the hand, resembling much the guttural voice of swine. In shape they are a good deal like our salt-water perch, and their colors are very beautiful.

It is, in fact, impossible to find any fish in tropical waters that are not much more brilliant in colors than those found in Northern latitudes. The varieties of the Hamulon above described, were from five to ten inches in length. We caught, also, a very curious fish called *hemirhamphus*. It resembles the garfish in its general character, but has the upper jaw short, and the lower one elongated into a beak, without teeth. The body is slim, from ten to fourteen inches long. This fish swims very near the surface of the water. It is impossible to keep one any length of time. If merely lifted out of the water and returned immediately, it turns over on its back and dies.

Next we visited Fort Taylor, accessible from the shore by a bridge, probably more than half a mile long. Underneath, and in the neighborhood of this bridge, the most beautiful anemones were plentiful. One species (*Rhodactinia apicalis*) resembles the *R. A. divisi* found on our Northern coast, but is much more plentiful in color. Of this species we procured eight varieties; some with red tentacula, white body, and variegated disk; others with tentacula tipped with yellow, white body, with pink spots and red disk. Just as we were about to leave this spot, so prolific of zoophytes, my friend cutting, found a specimen of the *Heteractis chloroluca*, the most beautiful of all anemones. It has a green disk, its tentacula are white and buff, and its body is buff, spotted with pink. The colors are truly gorgeous, more so than those of any other of the zoophyte family. We searched diligently for a long time, but found only this solitary specimen.

We caught several specimens of the salt water crayfish (*Palynurus Americanus*), weighing seven and eight pounds each. They are very handsomely colored, varied with red, green, and yellow. Their lateral antennæ are large, cetaceous, and set with sharp points. They are among the largest animals of this class. Their flesh is highly esteemed.

We also found in abundance the hermit crab, which has, since the introduction of the aquarium, been justly esteemed as one of its most curious and interesting inhabitants. It is the *Petrocaerus granulatus* of the naturalist. These animals are much larger than the hermit crab of Northern latitudes, *Eupurgus longicarpus*, or *E. Bernhardus*. They grow to a large size, and their claws are dark crimson. They are mostly found in those large *strombus* shells which are abundant in these parts.

### 3.—USURY LAWS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The Charleston Chamber of Commerce, at its last quarterly meeting, unanimously ordered a Memorial to be sent to the legislature, praying for the repeal of the Usury Laws. In accordance therewith, the subjoined memorial has been prepared, and will be presented at the General Assembly :

*To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina :*

The Memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Charleston, in the State aforesaid, respectfully sheweth—

That your memorialists forbear to enter at length upon all the questions—religious, moral, and economical—involved in the consideration of usury, but they respectfully present, as a fact, that money, whenever it can be invested without contravention of the laws against usury, so as to furnish to the owner a higher rate of interest than the law permits upon contracts, will assuredly be so invested. This frequently occurs in purchasing at a discount bonds or stocks of States, of corporations, and of individuals. While individuals desiring to borrow at the same discount upon their own bonds, or notes made for the express purpose, being by the usury laws prohibited, are unable to procure the money, often essential, without submitting to most ruinous sacrifices of property for cash, or to most extravagant usury from persons who knowingly risk the penalty, and charge a higher rate, because of the necessity of the borrower, the risk of loss, and the odium attached. These causes operate to drive out of the State large amounts of money invested in securities in other States, and eventually depress the market value of State and corporate securities, as well as of individual securities.

If left without restraint, individuals needing money, and offering satisfactory security, could fairly compete in procuring what was needed, and lenders would prefer securities nearer, rather than those remote from home.

A due regard for existing obligations renders it prudent that the contemplated change should be carefully and judiciously made; guarding against suddenly throwing the debtor into the power of the creditor, who, though satisfied with the security he has, may exact a higher than the original or present rate of interest.

Your memorialists, therefore, pray for such legislation touching its premises as to your honorable body may seem meet.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Done at Charleston, this nineteenth day of November, 1860.

By the Chamber of Commerce,

(Attest)

A. O. ANDREWS, *President*.

V. J. TOBIAS, *Secretary*.

### 4.—THE OYSTER TRADE.

ROBERT L. PELL, of New-York, a distinguished experimenter in fish breeding, has contributed to "Porter's Spirit" a series on the edible fishes of New-York, from which we quote the following :

Oysters (*crustacea*) may be found distributed near the coast in nearly all latitudes, abounding particularly in France, Britain, and America, forming in those countries an important article of diet. There are many species, but those belonging to the *ostrea edulis* of Linnæus are the best.

Their nervous system appears to be limited almost entirely to the faculties of touch and sense, as no organs of sight have yet been discovered. Every oyster is perfect in itself, and each individual capable of reproducing its kind.

In May, June, and July, the ovary is filled with a whitish fluid, which, under the influence of the microscope, is found to be ova. In July extrudation takes place, and the spawn attaches to rocks, stones, reeds, and frequently to other shells, and in less than a day after are covered with a shell.

They have an organ called a foot, composed of layers of fibres, which, by contraction and expansion, bestow on it the power of locomotion in a small degree. They close and open their shell by contracting or expanding the abductor muscle, which is attached to the interior opposite sides of the shell. When it is contracted the shell immediately closes and when relaxed opens. The moment this muscle loses its power the oyster dies. I have made two artificial beds of them in the Hudson river, and one in my pond, and will be able next year to report progress. When it is desirable to propagate oysters, the stones and cultch having them attached are removed to the selected location and planted. In eighteen months thereafter they are fit for market, but are not really in perfection for the table until three years old.

I noticed, when on the coast of Baia, near Naples, and in the lake Tacino, an immense number of reeds, so arranged as to form circles, just showing their ends above the surface of the water, and on inquiry was informed that they were covered with oysters. When required for use the reeds were raised, one after the other, and those having attained the proper size removed, when the reeds were again replaced. In these waters oysters attain full size at two years old, but I did not consider them comparable to our East river oysters, which, to my mind, are superior to all others, not even excepting those taken from the beds of the Milton, forty miles from London, which have a world-wide reputation. Oysters in Brittany, from the beds of Caucalle, have been famous for many years as well as those taken at Dieppe; but I always fancied I was eating copper when partaking of them, as they have precisely the flavor copper would have in your mouth; still I soon became fond of them, particularly in a raw state, which I think is the preferable way of eating them, as they lose, by cooking, their mucilaginous nutritive albuminous matter. As food, they are, when fresh, highly nutritious, and constitute a very light diet. Oysters, when fattened in artificial beds, assume a green tinge, by feeding on a minute plant known as convere, that grow in great abundance in all shallow waters where the sun has much power. This has led to the popular error that the color is occasioned by copper in the rocks, no trace of which has ever been detected by chemical tests. There is no truth in the idea that all oysters possess aphrodisiac properties.

Like other fish, they are never in season at the spawning period, which covers half of May, July, and part of August, when they are sick, unwholesome, and liable to engender diseases among those who eat them. During the oyster season, the consumption among all classes is enormous; they may be kept, for a number of days in salt water, and in fine condition, by the addition of small quantities of oat meal occasionally, of which they are very fond.

The annual report of the Baltimore American states that in 1858 the oyster business fully equalled the Maryland tobacco crop in value, and that it is constantly increasing, without any prospect of a diminution in the demand, and that the more the beds in the rivers are "fished," the more rapidly they appear to increase. The most experienced oystermen declare that they are far more abundant at the present time than they were some years since, when the demand for them was much less. The value of packed oysters in Baltimore is acknowledged by this report to be \$3,000,000. And those consumed in the neighborhood \$1,000,000. Shells converted into lime for agricultural purposes \$50,000. Total, \$4,050,000.

They obtain all their oysters south of the mouth of the Patuxent river, a great portion by dredging in twenty fathoms of water; these, however, are not so large as those taken with tongs in the numerous shallow inlets and bays, and near the mouth of the Chesapeake.

When planting, they take small oysters from deep water, and plant them in shallow places, where, in three years, they grow to a very large size, without

being in the least affected by any kind of weather, consequently the increase is unfailing. The number of vessels engaged in this trade last year amounted to one thousand, some of which cost three thousand dollars, and are capable of carrying three thousand bushels. The number of houses engaged in this business is twenty-five; the number of hands employed in opening and packing is two thousand five hundred, and of these one thousand six hundred are negroes, who are wonderfully skilled in the operation. In some establishments, three thousand bushels are opened in a day, and in all the establishments, seventeen thousand bushels daily; of this quantity, nine thousand bushels are packed in cans in a raw state, and the rest are pickled, spiced, and hermetically sealed for exportation everywhere.

The price of oysters in the shell from the boats varies from thirty-five to seventy-five cents per bushel, and averages forty-five cents. The cost of solder and tin is about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually. The number of tinmen required to work it into cans is three hundred. And one million feet of boards is used in manufacturing boxes to pack the cans in, to construct which employs two hundred carpenters. Exclusive of the value of buildings and vessels, the capital invested is a million of dollars, and the sales amount to three millions of dollars. About half of the packed oysters are consumed in our western cities, and are sold invariably for cash. Within twelve years, the business has increased tenfold, which may be attributed to the facilities of transportation. They ship raw oysters from Baltimore to South America, California, and Australia, besides all parts of Europe, and the demand will steadily increase as they become better known, from the fact that Chesapeake oysters, like canvas-back ducks, owe their superior flavor to the food obtained on their feeding grounds.

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## DEPARTMENT OF MISCELLANY.

### 1.—THE BORDER STATES—THEIR POSITION AFTER DISUNION.

BY SENATOR HUNTER, OF VA.

THE question, then, for the border slaveholding States will be, not whether the Southern States would have been safe if all had remained in the Union, but to which division of the Confederacy they ought to attach themselves now that it was severed. In such an event, I have not the shadow of a doubt as to what ought to be the course of Virginia and the other Southern border States. If they united with the other slave States, they would confederate as equals, and with those whose population was homogeneous, and whose interests were identified with their own. If they united with the North, under such circumstances they would constitute a helpless minority in an association with States whose population was not homogeneous with theirs, and whose interests would be considered as different and hostile. They would be treated as *inferiors* by the dominant majority, and considered as having acquiesced in that position by the choice which they had made. In the Southern confederacy, they would find an outlet for their surplus population of slaves, not only in these co-States, but in whatever territory might be acquired by that Union. Under that government, too, they would find effectual protection of their property and institutions. In the other confederacy, their slave population would indeed be "penned in," and "localized," within their own borders. The dominant party in the North looks to this object as the cardinal principle of their association, and they would be able to pursue that end without the show of an opposition. This negro population would then be penned up, not only by restrictions from the Northern majority, but by restrictions from the neighboring slave States also, who would probably hold it to be their interest to force the border States to hold on to their slaves, not only for political reasons, but also from a desire to interpose an obstacle to the escape of their fugitive slaves. What, then, would be the position of the slaveholding States in the Northern Confederacy?



As their slave population increased, there would be a tendency to fall in wages. The white laborer, by emigration, could better his condition, by removing where his labor was more productive, but the circumstance of his position must remain, and work for the home rate of wages, whatever it might be. In this state of things, the white laborer would emigrate where he could work on better terms, and the slave would remain to increase his hold upon these States, and to become the governing element of their population. While the new territory of this Northern confederacy would be given to the white man, according to their theory, the old territory of the border slaveholding States would be given to the negro. The consequence of such a process would soon reduce, to such an extent, the number of whites in these States, that they would lose their only, but slender, means of defence, which they had enjoyed throughout the little political strength with which they had entered that confederacy. Indeed, how long would it be before the non-slaveholding States would increase to the mark requisite to enable them to abolish slavery within the States by a constitutional amendment? Would they wait for that process, if they did not know it to be both rapid and sure? With the principles and feelings of this sectional party, which would wield the power of that Confederacy, how long would the institution of slavery endure in the five or six slaveholding States which were attached to that Union? Is there one of the slaveholding States that would voluntarily incur such a risk, with the fate of the British West Indies before their eyes? In a union with a Southern confederacy, they should encounter none of these dangers. In that connection, the slave population operates as a safety-valve to protect the white laborer against an unreasonable or ruinous decline in the rate of wages. With an outlet for emigration, the slave is the first to move under a decline in the rate of wages. The law of profit moves him to a theatre where he will earn more for his master, and yet more for himself, while the labor market which he leaves is thus gradually relieved from the pressure, and the white man remains in the land of his birth, to enjoy the profits of remunerating operations. As a proof of the truth of this view, I ask if the average rate of wages of the white laborer of the South is not higher than in any other settled portion of the globe?

But I have not done with the view of the relative advantages of an association on the part of Virginia, with either of these confederacies. In the Southern confederacy, the border States would soon derive all the advantages which the non-slaveholding, and particularly the New-England States, now derive from the market of the cotton States. With Virginia, this would especially be the case. Under the incidental protection afforded by a tariff, laid without other views than those for revenue purposes, there would be an unexampled development of her vast capacity for mining, manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial production. Nor would a great navigating interest be slow to spring into existence within her borders. Falling heirs, as she and the other border States would do, but Virginia principally, to the profitable occupations and rich markets of the cotton States, where they would find customers, mainly, and not rivals, and of which, hitherto, the Northern States have enjoyed the almost exclusive monopoly, their development of all these sources of material wealth would be greater, probably, than anything that has been witnessed in the North, or West, or East. If the Northern States are mad enough to throw away such advantages in their insane war upon slavery, to the existence of which institution they chiefly owe them, would not the madness of the border slave States be even greater than theirs, if they should voluntarily shut themselves out from such a field of adventure? But this is not all. The most profitable commercial relations of Virginia are with the South and Southwest. The manufacturing, mining, and agricultural productions of Northwestern Virginia, if we look down the Ohio, find their chief markets in the South and Southwest, or the Chesapeake, if we look eastward. The greatest railroad connections of Virginia almost look to the South and Southwest for their profits. The connecting links of the great Southwestern line are so nearly completed, that Norfolk and Richmond may be said to have already locked arms with Memphis and New-Orleans. When we look to geographical position, who can doubt but

that, in a separate Southern confederacy, composed of all, or nearly all, the slaveholding States, there would arise, in or about the shores of the Chesapeake, a great commanding centre of credit and commerce. With the completion of the central line of railroad, and, above all, with the completion of the great water line of the State, there would grow up some city in or about the Chesapeake, which would enjoy immense and commanding advantages for the interchange of commerce, and for the distribution of the commodities of the world over a vast area, filled with rich and profitable consumers. Indeed, through this water line, a portion of the great Northwest would stand toward some place in Virginia as the Canadas do to New-York. But this is a subject to which I will barely allude, as to treat it fully would swell this letter far beyond its proper dimensions. Suffice it to say, that for these great advantages, we could find no compensation in an association with the non-slaveholding States, where we would find more rivals than customers, and where these great interests of Virginia would probably be exposed to hostile legislation. So far, I have dwelt upon the relative political and material advantages to be derived from an association with the one or the other of these confederacies.

But there is yet another point of comparison, which weighs more with me than all the others. I mean the social effects of a union with either. We should enter the Southern confederacy as equals. The roads to honor, office, and profit, would be alike open to all. We should enter into a government whose constituents are bound together by common interests and sympathies, and who treated each other with mutual respect. But above all, our social system, instead of being dwarfed and warred upon by the action of the government, would receive all the assistance and means of development which it is proper for a government to render to the society which it represents. If it be the individual culture which develops the man, it is the social culture which regulates the progress of the race. This social culture depends much upon the system of government itself. The difference is wide between the measure of progress of a social system when the government aids and promotes on the one hand, or assails and seeks to prevent its development on the other. But what would be the operation upon the social system of these few slaveholding States in the Northern Confederacy? Declared to be inferiors by the dominant majority, and forced, by their weakness, to submit to the position, they could not enter, with equal chances, into the competition for the honors and profits of society. Who would voluntarily place a son in such a position? Humbled by the stamp of inferiority, placed upon him by his government, conscious that he was attached to a political system from whose honor he was excluded by the circumstances of his position, and a member of a social system which was assailed and dwarfed by his own government, then it would not be long before he would lose, together with his sense of equality, that spirit of independence to which manhood owes its chief grace and its power.

## 2.—OVERT ACTS OF NORTHERN AGGRESSION.

The following recapitulations of the outrages and aggressions of the North against the South, and the equality of the States, and the federal purity of the Union, is given by the Hon. Henry A. Wise, of Virginia :

"It obtained its own compromise in the Constitution to continue the importation of slaves, and now sets up a law higher than the Constitution, to abolish property in slaves which it sold to its neighbors.

"In 1819-20 it deprived us of equal settlement in more than half the territory then acquired from France.

"It seized upon Texas north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and carved out of Texas 44,000 square miles of slave territory south of 36 degrees 30 minutes.

"It seized upon all the territory acquired by common conquest from Mexico, and deprived slave labor of the privilege of operating in the wealthiest mines on earth—the gold mines of California.

"It had bribed a slave State with ten millions of common funds to sanction a prohibition of slavery in New-Mexico.

"It claims to abolish slavery in the districts, forts, arsenals, dockyards, and

other places ceded to the United States. To abolish the inner slave trade, and thus cut off the northern slave States from the profits of production, and the southern from their sources of supply of labor.

"It claims to forbid all equality and competition of settlement in the common territories by the citizens of slave States.

"It repels all further admission of new slave States.

"It has nullified the Fugitive Slave Acts in fourteen States of the Union. It has denied extradition of murderers and marauders and other felons in several others.

"It has caused and shielded the murder of masters or owners in pursuit of fugitive slaves.

"It has refused to prevent or punish, by State authority, the spoliation of slave property, but, on the contrary, it has made it a criminal offence in the citizens of several States to obey the laws of the Union for the protection of slave property.

"It has advocated negro equality, and made it the ground of positive legislation hostile to Southern States.

"It opposes protection to slave property on the high seas, and has justified piracy itself in the case of the Creole.

"It has kept in our midst emissaries of incendiarism to corrupt our slaves, and induce them to run off, or excite them to rebellion and insurrection.

"It has run off millions of slave property by a system of what is called 'underground railroads,' and has made its tenure so precarious in the border slave States, as nearly to have abolitionized two of them—Maryland and Missouri—and it is making similar inroads constantly upon Virginia and Kentucky.

"It is incessantly scattering firebrands of incendiary appeals in our midst.

"It has extended fanaticism in our own borders.

"It has invaded a territory by arms furnished by emigrant aid societies, under State patronage, and by funds furnished by foreign enemies in Canada and in Great Britain.

"It has invaded Virginia, and shed the blood of our citizens on her own soil.

"It has justified and exalted to the highest honors of admiration and respect the horrid murders and arsons, and rapine, of the raid of John Brown; and has canonized the felons themselves as saints of martyrdom.

"It has burnt towns and poisoned the cattle, and formed the midnight conspiracy for the depopulation of northern Texas.

"It has proclaimed to the slaves the horrid motto: 'alarm to the sleep, fire to the dwellings, poison to the food and water,' of slaveholders.

"It has published its plan for the abolition of slavery everywhere. To rescue slaves at all hazards—to form associations—to establish presses—to use the vote and ballot—to raise money and military equipments—to form and discipline armed companies—to appeal to non-slaveholders and detach them from slaveholders in slave States—to communicate with the slaves—to encourage anti-slavery emigrants to the South and West—to seize other property of slaveholders to compensate for the cost of running off their slaves—to enforce emancipation by all means, especially by limiting, harassing, and frowning upon slavery in every mode and form, and, finally, by the Executive, by Congress, by the postal service, and in every way to agitate, without ceasing, until the Southern States shall be abandoned to their fate, and, worn down, shall be compelled to surrender and emancipate their slaves.

"It has repudiated the decisions of the Supreme Court.

"It assails us from the pulpit, the press, and the school-room. It divides all sects and religions as well as parties. It denounces slaveholders as degraded by the lowest immoralities, insults them in every form, and holds them up to the scorn of mankind.

"It has already a majority of the States under its domination, has infected the Federal as well as State judiciary, has a large majority of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, will soon have, by the

new census, a majority of the Senate, and before it obtains the Senate, certainly will obtain the chief executive power of the United States.

"It has announced its purpose of total abolition in the States and everywhere, as well as territories and districts, and other places ceded. And,

"It has proclaimed an 'irrepressible conflict,' or higher law, with the Federal Constitution itself."

### 3.—FIDELITY OF SLAVES TO THEIR MASTERS.

In our November No. we had an article on this subject by Prof. Reynolds, of South Carolina. We have since then been turning over the little volume published by J. W. Randolph, Richmond, Va. (understood to be from the pen of Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia), in which appears a series of letters written by an English resident of the South, dated 1866, 1867, &c., giving an account of the war then in progress between the Northern and Southern States. The letters enter into minute details, and cover the whole period of the Revolution. The passages which relate to the conduct of the negro slaves in Mississippi particularly strike our attention, and are given below:

This invasion served as the first occasion to test the correctness of these opinions of Northern abolitionists. From the beginning, and with every visit of a foraging party to every plantation, or wherever a military detachment of the invaders was encamped within a few miles' distance, every slave had it completely in his power to desert his master's plantation, and join the invaders, and be protected by them from any immediate punishment or damage from his former rulers. In addition to these widespread opportunities for escape, known to all, the many fanatical abolitionists of the invading militia, and those from Ohio especially, exerted themselves to invite and persuade the slaves to use the present means offered, and in their power, to assume their freedom, by desertion or insurrection. These seductions and inducements had effect on a few slaves, and especially in the beginning. But, in general, and with few exceptions, the failure of such attempts was signal and complete. The ignorant negroes in general were more alarmed at and more fearful of the invading forces than were their masters; and the better informed among the slaves had learned enough to make them altogether distrustful of such offers of freedom, even if desirous at heart to attain the promised condition. They had heard of the sufferings, in their new condition of freedom at the North, of many slaves who formerly had been seduced by the false statements of abolition agents to flee—of the inhuman neglect of these their victims by the abolitionists at the North—of the base treachery of other Northerners, who induced and aided the escape of slaves, merely afterward to arrest and carry them back to their masters, for the offered rewards. Further, all of them had heard the traditionary accounts of the like invitations and encouragements for the desertion or insurrection of slaves having been offered by the British forces and commanders in the invasion of the Southern States during both the wars of 1776 and 1812, and of the disastrous results to the victims, who, whether of their choice, or by compulsion, were changed to the so-called condition of freedom. These old stories, with all their exaggerations, of the falsehood and cruelty of the invaders, and the sufferings of their victims, the fugitive slaves in the war of 1776, had doubtless been generally communicated to the succeeding generation of slaves, and had produced on them such a distrust and fear of any like offers, that, in the war of 1812, with every facility at command, the remarkable fact was universal that not one slave in Virginia (or elsewhere, so far as known) voluntarily deserted to the invading enemy, or went off with any of the numerous foraging and plundering parties which at various times had complete control of hundreds of different plantations, on which the slaves then only remained at home to receive the invaders. It is true, that at a later time, and after any voluntary desertion of slaves was hopeless, many hundreds of them were carried off to the British ships. But it was in every case by force, and not by consent of the abducted slaves. Up to this time,

it is understood that all the slaves who had absconded to the enemy's army in Mississippi, were less than forty in number, and that no cases had occurred later than the first week of the invasion.

I do not mean to intimate that this slowness or reluctance of negro slaves to accept of the offers, and to trust to the promises of freedom as in this recent case, and in still more marked manner, and universally, in the war of 1812, is evidence of their preferring their present condition of bondage, or of unwillingness to be free from the control of a master. I fully believe that that control and bondage are necessary for the well-being and greatest possible usefulness and happiness of the negro race. But negro slaves, as well as all other persons in bondage of any kind, even of loving children to loving parents—would prefer to be free from constraint, or of obedience to any but their own will. A negro especially hates labor—and his idea of liberty is the license to be idle. Of course, a negro slave would generally desire to be relieved, by emancipation, from the obligation to labor at a master's command—and his ignorance would generally prevent his knowing, or duly appreciating, that the necessary alternative would be, if free, to labor under the compulsion of want. But even when influenced in feeling by these considerations, and by the false as well as the true, there are other counteracting influences operating to deter any attempted action, besides those referred to above, of suspicion and distrust of his pretended friends and patrons, the abolitionists. The negro is naturally timid, unenterprising, fearful of and averse to change to any new and untried condition. Also, he is especially in awe of his master's authority, even though it should be absent or suspended for a time, and of the power of the superior race and dominant class to which his master belongs. Therefore, even if the Southern slaves were as willing to achieve their freedom by flight, or by insurrection and bloody general massacre, as the Northern abolitionists are to incite them to such acts—if they had not the existing love for their master's family which is general, and feeling of compunction or horror for the murderous acts enjoined upon them by such advisers—still, before negro slaves could be so moved, it would be further necessary to quiet their fears of future suffering, by the perfect assurance that no punishment, or reverse of circumstances, would ever follow their assumption of freedom. And such assurance can never be given by any hostile power or invading army, that is at the same time struggling to maintain its temporary supremacy, or which has not already completely subdued the invaded country and people, and suppressed all appearance of opposition. Should the Northern section, and its armed forces, ever be thus supreme in the Southern States, then, the offer of freedom to the slaves, if made by the conquering and impregnable ruling power, will doubtless be generally accepted. But until then, the offer of freedom to the slaves, even though accompanied by the promise (from the abolitionists) of seizing and possessing their master's property, as the reward for general and successful insurrection and massacre, will have but little effect. By such efforts, in time of war, or in political separation, a few slaves may be persuaded and enabled to desert their Southern service, and flee to the North. But, with the restraints that either war or political separation will enable to be enforced, these losses will be less in number than have heretofore been suffered by the Southern slaveholders, when under the same general government with the abolition emissaries—who, as fellow-citizens, then had free access to every slaveholding State, and almost to every slave.

The admission that negro slaves probably would generally rebel, and free themselves and seize on their masters' property, if perfectly assured of success, has no more of special application to negro slaves than to the most destitute and suffering white and (so called) free citizens or subjects of the most refined and philanthropic countries of Europe, or even of these Northern States, where negrophilism is most rife and rampant, and where the anti-slavery fanatics rely with most confidence on negro insurrection as both a condemnation and a remedy for slavery. Suppose that England or France, or either of these oldest Northern States, was subdued, and powerless in the military occupancy of an overwhelming hostile power—and that that power offered and proclaimed to all the destitute classes relief and freedom from want, and invited them, under the



secure protection of the conquering power, to take possession, at will, of the property and wealth of any or all who possessed any. Does any one believe that the destitute classes of England and France, thus encouraged and assured of entire success and safety, would not eagerly accept of the offered benefits? And if the owners of property should dare to resist its peaceable seizure, would the new claimants hesitate to assert their new rights by force—or, if necessary for their successful assertion, to use fire and sword, and every other means of terror and destruction, to enforce their new privileges? Even in this comparatively plentiful country, where so few as yet suffer from hunger, would the most destitute and suffering classes in the great cities of the northeastern States decline to accept such proffered privileges and bounties, at the expense of the property, and even of the lives also, of their fellow-citizens, the present property-holders? For one, I verily believe that, if the most unbounded privileges of these kinds—of license of every kind, and with the assurance of undoubted safety in the exercise—were offered both to the people of Massachusetts and to the slaves of any Southern State, that the latter would be slower to use these offered benefits, than every wealthy abolitionist in Boston to be shot or hung, and his property seized by his near neighbors and present disciples and followers.

#### 4.—IMMIGRATION.

In the report of Hon. Lewis Cass, late Secretary of State, presented to Congress, is given the number and designation of passengers arriving in the United States from foreign countries during the year 1859. It appears that the total number of arrivals was 155,600. Of this number 35,216 came from Ireland and 39,315 from Germany. Of the entire amount, 113,270 were landed at New-York, 12,370 at Boston, 3,788 at Philadelphia, and 11,322 at New-Orleans. For the last four years, there has been a gradual falling off in immigration, except that, in 1857, there was a slight increase over that of the previous year. The following table shows the totals of immigration for the respective years:

1856 .....	224,495	1858 .....	144,906
1857 .....	271,982	1859 .....	155,509

#### 5.—THE RECAPTURED AFRICANS.

The following certainly is very rich, and deserves a place in the record which Mr. Ruffin has made through our pages of the bold impostures of the Colonization Society and Liberia:

"The Washington correspondent of the 'Journal of Commerce' states that the government of Liberia have refused to receive the recaptured Africans who were captured by our cruizers and landed at Monrovia in August last. The number of Africans thus landed is about twenty-four hundred. The American Colonization Society have a contract with the government to take charge of these Africans for one year, for the compensation of one hundred dollars a head. But there is some trouble with the Liberian government, which refuses permission for the negroes to remain in its territory or under its protection without the same compensation which the Colonization Society are to receive. The Colonization Society will endeavor to arrange the matter by a compromise. They would rather, it is said, relinquish their entire amount of compensation to Liberia than that the benevolent object of the government of the United States should be frustrated. If the negroes are turned adrift they will perish."

#### 6.—POWER OF THE SOUTH TO PROTECT HERSELF—IN MEN, POSITION, AND AGRICULTURAL WEALTH.

[From the able pamphlet by Hon. Jno. Townsend, of South Carolina, entitled, "The South alone should Govern the South," and which should be in the hands of every Southern man.]

What reflecting man can doubt the abundant ability of the South to protect

herself, and to attain a power which will cause her to be respected among the foremost nations of the earth?

The *eight seceding States* alone, possess a territory more than *three times* as great as France more than *six times* as large as Prussia, and nearly *six times* as large as England, Scotland, and Ireland put together; while the alliance of the other Southern and border States would increase the territorial extent of the Southern confederacy more than one third. Can a country like this, occupied by a people who from their childhood have been accustomed to the most manly exercise, and the free use of firearms—bold, hardy, restive under unlawful control—and numbering within its borders 1,800,000 men capable of bearing arms, and who, with a few weeks' warning, could be marshalled at every available point in bands of 50,000 and 100,000—can, I say, such a country, and so peopled, be overcome by any foreign foe? The idea is simply absurd.

Next: Consider her compactness within her boundaries; her inexhaustible resources in money, and all other materials toward providing the appliances of war; and her capacity, arising from these circumstances, of resisting, or punishing, if necessary, all aggression upon her rights. With agricultural production the most valuable in the world, and which make them the objects of envy to every manufacturing and commercial people, and her friendship and alliance to be sought after by every civilized nation, she holds in her hands the very best *bonds* which they can give to "keep the peace" with her. It is a mistake, Mr. Chairman, to suppose that England, France, Germany, Russia, and the other commercial and manufacturing nations of Europe, are hostile to our African slavery. Nations (and even our sanctimonious North is not an exception) are not governed by *sentiment*, much less by *sentimentality*, but by their interest; and these peoples, to whom I have just referred, are too deeply interested in procuring the raw materials, which the South, almost alone, can supply them with, for their manufactures, to embark in a silly quarrel with us about the *kind* of labor, by which these raw materials are acquired. Not only many *millions of their people* are dependent upon these raw materials for employment for their bread—not only *thousands of millions of capital* are also dependent upon them for profits—but it becomes a concern of government, that these raw materials should be supplied; since it promotes contentment to the hungry laborer, and establishes *quiet* and *social order*, which might not otherwise be procured, except by the terrible resort of powder and lead. The South, then, need be under no apprehension of interference with her slave property from these nations; but, on the contrary, may reasonably expect friendly intercourse. Indeed, sir, no alliance would be more natural than one between these nations and our Southern confederacy. There would be no cause of rivalry and jealousy. We, the agricultural people, would grow the raw material, and they, the manufacturing and commercial people, would work it up and send it to their customers of the world.

#### 7.—FREE NEGROES OF VIRGINIA.

Mr. Ruffin thus disposes of the subject of free negroes, who have become a very great nuisance in Virginia:

It should be required of all who are of capacity or ability to labor, that they should possess, either in property or from the returns of daily labor, the means of living honestly, and of supporting their families, if having any. To furnish this evidence would be no hardship or grievance to the honest, industrious, and provident laborers, or to others who had acquired some property by honest means. But for all who could not offer such evidence, it should be inferred, and assume as proved, that they were living in idleness, and upon the property of others. The penalty should be the hiring out of every such free negro, to the highest bidder, for the term of one year, and for him or her to be on the legal condition of a slave for that time of compulsory service. Also, other notorious or proved offenders, as those habitually idle, improvident, or intemperate, even though still possessing some property—or gross abusers and maltreaters of their wives and children, should undergo the like temporary servitude and obligation to labor.

The money obtained from such hirings, after paying, for the town or county, the necessary costs of the system, should next be used, or so much as was required for this purpose, to furnish necessary supplies of provisions, etc., for the dependent and destitute families of any of the offenders so hired out. Any surplus receipts from the hires, and also all net receipts from the sales of free negroes, should go the State treasury. Regulations sufficiently stringent should be enacted to enforce the legal claim of the employer to the service and labor of a free negro thus hired, for the full term of the engagement. If he absconded within the time, and did not escape to a Northern State, (as would occur in many cases,) the time of service so lost should be made up by longer extension of the term.

When the terms of servitude of such temporary slaves had been completed, they would be remitted to their previous condition of freedom. But for every one, male and female, who afterward was convicted of any violation of criminal law—or otherwise resumed his or her former habits of idleness or vice, and failed to earn an honest livelihood, such second condemnation should subject the offender to banishment from the territory of the State—and if found therein after 30 days, to be sold to the highest bidder, into perpetual slavery.

Legal officers, or commissioners, should be appointed in every county and town, to make the required inquiries, and to carry the whole system into full effect. Every care should be used to select just and humane, as well as discreet and firm men for this duty. I admit that there would be great difficulty in having these important services well performed. But the general and more usual erring of the commissioners would be in using too much lenity, rather than causing the too severe execution of the law.

The worthy free negroes, such as are useful and also self-supporting members of the community, would suffer nothing from the most full and strict enforcement of this system. It would indeed be required of them to show that they had means for honest support, and the reputation of good conduct. That could be easily done—and when done and known, the social position of all who had passed through that ordeal, and continued thereafter to maintain the same good character, would be greatly elevated. Now, a worthy free-negro is known as worthy, and respected accordingly, by his near neighbors only. To all other persons, and to strangers, he is merely a free negro—a term which always conveys the meaning of a general character of meanness, degradation, and worthlessness. The line of distinction proposed to be drawn between the worthy and the unworthy, would serve as a certificate of merit, and an unquestionable claim to respect, which would be the greatest benefit that can be bestowed on any of this class. But this more elevated position would be retained only by continued good conduct, and would be enjoyed by the children of worthy parents only upon the same condition.

But there might be many free negroes, either adults of good conduct, or children too young to be offenders, who would be incapable of self-support, and therefore would come under the operation of the measures proposed. Among such cases (as well as many of different character) would be many women having young children dependent for support on the mother alone, and she incapable of supporting them. The system here proposed would generally also subject these to perpetual slavery—because their removal from the State would be either impossible, or would be rejected by the persons concerned, and old enough to choose. In most of such cases, the mother would greatly prefer enslavement for herself and her children, whom she was unable to support, to exile. And their enslavement would not only be the most politic, but, in every aspect, the most humane procedure that could be adopted in such cases. In these, and all other cases of enslavement, at the choice of a free negro, it should be effected under the existing general law—which authorizes such voluntary enslavement to a master chosen by the designed slave, and the purchase-money to be one half of the estimated value, and which is to be paid into the public treasury. All compulsory sales (not of adults choosing enslavement, or the young children of mothers so choosing for them) to be at public auction, and to the highest bidder.

If this system of policy were adopted, it would serve, within a year or two, to place in profitable service, as hirelings or as slaves, or would otherwise enforce

the emigration, of every known idle or dissolute adult free negro in Virginia. Every future violator of the criminal laws, of that class, would be enslaved—and most of these would thus be made productive laborers, and useful members of the community. The worthy members of the class, as before stated, would not only suffer no danger from the operation of the new policy, but would be benefited by being thereby elevated in position and reputation. But good habits and morals are rare in that class, and still more rarely are they transmitted to children and succeeding generations. And when the children of worthy parents fell into vicious courses, they would meet the same fate with other unworthy members of the class. From this and other causes, even the best and selected portion of the whole class would decrease in numbers continually, until the time will come when very few, if any, free negroes will remain within the boundaries of Virginia.

#### 8.—THE NON-SLAVEHOLDERS OF THE SOUTH.

In his admirable address entitled "The Doom of Slavery in the Union," Hon. John Townsend of South Carolina, uses this language.

Accompanied as that measure is to be, by reducing the two races to an equality—or, in other words, in elevating the negro slave to an equality with the white man—it will be to the non-slaveholder, equally with the largest slaveholder, the obliteration of *caste* and the deprivation of important privileges. The color of the white man is now, in the South, a title of nobility in his relations as to the negro; and although Cuffy or Sambo may be immensely his superior in wealth, may have his thousands deposited in bank, as some of them have, and may be the owner of many slaves, as some of them are, yet the poorest non-slaveholder, being a white man, is his superior in the eye of the law; may serve and command in the militia; may sit upon juries, to decide upon the rights of the wealthiest in the land; may give his testimony in court, and may cast his vote, equally with the largest slaveholder, in the choice of his rulers. In no country in the world does the poor white man, whether slaveholder or non-slaveholder, occupy so enviable a position as in the slaveholding States of the South. His color here admits him to social and civil privileges which the white man enjoys nowhere else. In countries where negro slavery does not exist (as in the Northern States of this Union and in Europe), the most menial and degrading employments in society are filled by the white poor, who are hourly seen drudging in them. *Poverty*, then, in those countries, becomes the badge of inferiority, and wealth of distinction. Hence the arrogant airs which wealth there puts on, in its intercourse with the poor man. But in the Southern slaveholding States, where these menial and degrading offices are turned over to be performed exclusively by the negro slave, the status and *color of the black race* become the badge of inferiority, and the poorest non-slaveholder may rejoice with the richest of his brethren of the white race, in the distinction of his color. The poorest non-slaveholder, too, except as I have before said, he be debased by his vices or his crimes, thinks, and feels, and acts as if he was and always intended to be, superior to the negro. He may be poor, it is true; but there is no point upon which he is so justly proud and sensitive as his privilege of *caste*; and there is nothing he would resent with more fierce indignation than the attempt of the abolitionists to emancipate the slaves and elevate the negroes to an equality with himself and his family. The abolitionists have sent their emissaries among that class of our citizens, trying to debauch their minds by persuading them that they have no interest in preventing the abolition of slavery. But they cannot deceive any, except the most ignorant and worthless. The intelligent among them are too well aware of the degrading consequences of abolition upon themselves and their families (such as I have described them), to be entrapped by their arts. They know that at the North and in Europe, where no slavery exists, where poverty is the mark of inferiority, where the negroes have been put on an equality with the whites, and 'money makes the man,' although the man may be a negro—they know, I say, that there the white man is seen *waiting* upon the negro;—there he is seen *obeying* the negro as his ostler, his coachman, his servant, and

his bootblack. Knowing, then, these things, and that the abolition of slavery, and the reign of negro equality here, may degrade the white man in the same way as it has done in those countries, there is no non-slaveholder in the South, with the spirit of the white race in his bosom, who would not spurn with contempt this scheme of Yankee cunning and malice."

## EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

NEVER was the South so nearly united as at present, and the day of her deliverance from an insolent and vexatious sectional tyranny is evidently at hand. Little short of a direct interposition of Providence in her behalf could have brought about the general accord and understanding which now prevail between the States, and which were hitherto unknown under any provocation in their history. Though some may differ as to what the remedy should be, *the sentiment is universal, that the abolition government of Lincoln and Seward, as it is advocated and expounded by the majorities in all of the free States of the North, shall not be inaugurated over the South.* This is the decree that has gone forth. Thank God, the baseness of such submission is not reserved for us, and that our people are enabled to feel of the Union, as it is proposed to be administered, in the language of King John—

"Inglorious league!

Shall we upon the footing of our land,  
Send fair-play orders and make compromise,  
Insinuation, parley, and base truce,  
To arms invasive?"

Before the dire alternative of an abolition government was fairly before us, and while yet the patriotic heart of the South rested in the faith that some deliverance would be found for its people from this impending evil, the Editor of this Review, when called upon to express his opinions to the people at the national metropolis, did not hesitate to declare what the event, thank Heaven! has so abundantly justified:

"FELLOW-CITIZENS: South Carolina is deemed to be an extreme State, but I tell you that gallant old Mississippi, which Quitman led, and where Davis and Brown utter clarion notes, is treading step by step with her. Alabama, which has provided by organic law for a State convention on this contingency, is already 'booted and spurred and in the saddle.' Will Georgia lag, whose statesmen

have already declared that the hour of reckoning has come? Will Texas, who, in the past year, has been left to tender abolition mercies, and been reduced to the condition of an armed camp? I think not—I believe not. Who will lead in the movement I will not say; but of this there can be no doubt—the inauguration of an abolition president cannot take place without the secession of one or more of these States, and if one shall go alone it will be the signal for others to follow. The flower of safety is often only to be—

"Plucked from danger's precipice."

I believe that South Carolina will take the lead. Her antecedents will never allow her to submit. The State which gave Christopher Gadsden to the Revolution, whom Mr. Bancroft considers almost the potential spirit of that time, will not dishonor herself.

"I have recently been in South Carolina, and I tell you that all parties are united. The old co-operation party, disgusted by the results of their mission to Virginia, see nothing left in honor but separate State action. They will be satisfied with ordinary pledges of after co-operation. In times like these men will not reason very closely. Colonel Orr, the most conservative of South Carolina statesmen, said from the same stand with myself that the honor and safety of the South required that she should resist the rule of Lincoln to the disruption of the federal ties, and he was hailed with rapturous applause in the oldest and truest of what were known as the Union districts of that State. Florida and Arkansas are but offshoots from the Carolina tree, and the governor of Louisiana agrees in the sentiment of 'Lincoln and disunion.'"

For fifteen years, through the pages of this Review, amid every discouragement, and often amid the taunts and sneers of those who had the deepest interest in the result—at times brought to the verge of bankruptcy by the want of sympathy and the want of support attending his labors—the Editor has fairly presented the issues to the country, and warned it of the dangers in reserve. He never once hesitated for an instant in all that time. Argument, entreaty, exhortation, have succeeded each other. Facts and statistics have been piled up. The whole controversy, in all of its relations, has been dissected



and presented in every possible point of view. The ablest intellects of the South, and even of the North, have been enlisted with him, and, had the warning been heeded, *this Union would have been safe to-day*; but it was not so ordered, and now the long-predicted revolution has come, and those who denounced us as a "fire-eater," a "nullifier," a "disorganizer," and used their influence in many parts even of the South to silence us, *have become very Salamanders themselves in comparison, and leave us far enough behind in the race.* Be it so, and we rejoice in it. They can appreciate now, what was condemned in so many quarters at the time, the language we used (and which we now repeat,) from the chair of the Southern Convention, at Knoxville, in 1857:

"This glorious Union, this wide extending Union, this world-famed Union, its stars and its stripes, 'It must be maintained,' 'Perish the colonies, but save this principle.' 'Liberty and Union—now and forever—one and inseparable.' So have poems been sung, and so are they now sung at times by oppressed and oppressor. But are these the ebullitions of virtue and of patriotism when springing fresh from the Southern heart, and in view of all the circumstances of the present Southern condition? Who will dare to utter them upon the floor of this Convention or any hustings from the Bay of Delaware to the banks of the Colorado, confessing the servility which is involved? Is there a divine right of government proclaimed, and a divine injunction to unconditional obedience, and are liberty and manhood and its rights grown so cheap that they are not to be mentioned in the same breath hereafter with the sentiment of 'union'? Must the shadow be clung to if the substance has departed? Union, because acceptable with the living man, must it needs be with the festering corpse? Union, because acceptable and advantageous with those who shared in our perils, who sympathized in our hopes and our fears, and respected our feelings and our rights, and considered us as their equals and their brothers, must it perforce be acceptable and supplicated for, with earnest entreaty, with those who in their pulpits, in their press, at their hustings, in their parlors and schools, on their streets, in their legislative halls, on the floors of Congress, menace us with insurrection and civil war, denounce us as cowards and robbers, wearing the civilization of the dark ages, unfitted to share with them in Christian communion, and so cut off from the pale of sympathy as to be warred upon in our industry and our rights, and to be excluded from every future avenue of national growth and aggrandizement? Union of the South American colonies with old Spain. Union of Texas with the Mexican Confederation. Union of the revolting colonies with George the Third! *'Give me George the Third or give me death.'*

"Thou shalt not force me from thee,  
Use me reproachfully and like a slave;  
Tread on me—buffet me;  
I'll bear it with all patience,  
Till wounded by my sufferings thou relent."

"The Federal Union (and this is the language of the bold and the free) has the same sanctity as any other of the thousand governments that have had place in the annals of the world. It is to be maintained by every patriot exertion, while impelled by the principles of equity and justice and a proper regard to the rights of all its members. It is to be crushed by these same patriot exertions whenever it assumes to be otherwise, without hope of restoration, and degenerates into acts of open and palpable tyranny; for

"Not even the high anointed hand of  
Heaven  
Can authorize oppression.  
\* \* \* \* \* Tyranny  
Absolves all faith."

A subscriber writes to us as follows:

"It is of much importance, in reconciling parties interested in the change of government contemplated, that you, and others whom you may influence, who are skilful in preparing short and efficient paragraphs for the daily press, should enlighten the people in what so much concerns them.

"The daily press, whose editors will publish comprehensive paragraphs as editorials or as communications, might be efficiently used to plainly show that Governor Magoffin's, and other similar objections to Louisiana withdrawing from its present connection in government with other States bordering on the Mississippi river, can and will be entirely obviated by the new confederacy of Southern States adhering to their principles of *free trade*.

"By the Southern States contributing to a general fund, in proportion to their population or representation, without levying duties on imports or exports, the Mississippi would remain free to be navigated for peaceful commerce, and the cities in the confederacy be made free ports. Hence shipments by way of the Mississippi, destined to any of the States in the interior, would arrive unmolested, when such States could impose duties for their own citizens to pay, either for revenue or '*protection*.'"

"In such case, there is no more propriety in Louisiana belonging to the government of the States at the other end of the Mississippi, than to belong to those at the other end of the gulf or of the Atlantic."

We have been requested to publish the splendid *Thanksgiving discourse* of Dr. Palmer, of New-Orleans, delivered recently, upon the existing revolution, and shall do so in our next. Its influence has been felt wide and near. We have only space now for the closing words :

"The position of the South is at this moment sublime. If she has grace given her to know her hour she will save herself, her country, and the world. It will involve, indeed, temporary prostration and distress; the dikes of Holland must be cut to save her from the troops of Philip. But I warn my countrymen, the historic moment once passed never returns. If she will arise in her majesty, and speak now as with the voice of one man, she will roll back for all time the curse that is upon her. If she succumb now, she transmits that curse as an heirloom to posterity.

"We may, for a generation, enjoy comparative ease, gather up our feet in our beds, and die in peace; but our children will go forth beggared from the homes of their fathers. Fishermen will cast their nets where your proud commercial navy now rides at anchor, and dry them upon the shore now covered with your bales of merchandise. Sapped, circumvented, undermined, the institutions of your soil will be overthrown; and, within five and twenty years, the history of St. Domingo will be the record of Louisiana. If dead men's bones can tremble, ours will move under the muttered curses of sons and daughters, denouncing the blindness and love of ease which have left them an inheritance of woe.

"I have done my duty under as deep a sense of responsibility to God and man as I have ever felt. Under a full conviction that the salvation of the whole country is depending upon the action of the South, I am compelled to deepen the sentiment of resistance in the Southern mind, and to strengthen the current now flowing toward a union of the South in defense of her chartered rights. It is a duty which I shall not be called to repeat, for such awful junctures do not occur twice in a century."

The *Thanksgiving discourse* of Dr. Lencock, of New-Orleans, was equally decided in its views as the following extract will show. Thus is New-Orleans shoulder to shoulder with Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile :

"I feel as a Southerner. Southern honor is my honor—Southern degradation is my degradation. Let no man mistake my meaning or call my words idle. As a Southerner, then, I will speak, and I give it as my firm and unhesitating belief, that nothing is now left us but secession. I do not like the word, but it is the only one to express my meaning. We do not secede—our enemies have seceded. We are on the Constitution—our enemies are not on the Constitution; and our language should be, If you will not go with us, we will not go with you. You may form for yourselves a Constitution; but we will administer among ourselves the Constitution which our fathers have left us. This should be our

language and solemn determination. Such action our honor demands; such action will save the Union, if anything can. We have yet friends left us in the North, but they can not act for us till we have acted for ourselves; and it would be as pusillanimous in us to desert our friends as to cower before our enemies. To advance is to secure our rights; to recede is to lay our fortunes, our honor, our liberty, under the feet of our enemies. I know that the consequences of such a course, unless guided by discretion, are perilous. But, peril our fortunes, peril our lives, come what may, let us never peril our liberty and our honor. I am willing, at the call of my honor and my liberty to die a freeman; but I'll never, no, never, live a slave; and the alternative now presented by our enemies is secession or slavery. Let it be liberty or death!"

The tenth volume of *Appleton's New American Encyclopedia* has reached our desk. It embraces the letters from I to M. It is one of the most valuable works published in America, and, as we have frequently said, should be in the library of every citizen.

The pamphlet entitled "*The Alternative: a Separate Nationality or the Africanization of the South*," by Wm. H. Holcombe, of Tensas, Louisiana, is also before us. It is an able and spirited effort. The author says :

"Southerners! In this great crisis, which involves the welfare of the present and the future, let us be united as one man. Let us survey the whole question in all its bearings, immediate and prospective. Let us act calmly, wisely, bravely. Let us take counsel of our duty and our honor, and not of our danger and our fears. Let us invoke the guardian spirit of ancestral virtue, and the blessing of Almighty God. Let us remember that, although precipitancy is a fault, it is better, in a question so vital as personal and national independence, to be an age too soon than a moment too late. If we succeed in establishing, as we shall, a vast, opulent, happy, and glorious slaveholding republic throughout tropical America—future generations will arise and call us blessed! But if it be possible, in the mysterious providence of God, that we should fail and perish in our sublime attempt, let it come! Our souls may rebel against the inscrutable decree of such a destiny, but we will not swerve a line from the luminous path of duty. With our hands upon our hearts, we will unitedly exclaim, Let it come! The sons and daughters of the South are ready for the sacrifice. We endorse the noble sentiment of Robert Hall that he has already lived too long, who has survived the liberties of his country!"

*Echoes of Europe; or, Word-Pictures of Travel.* Philadelphia: James Challen & Son. 1860. By E. K. Washington.

We have here a book of travels of much interest, and it is dedicated to

Major Henry Vaughan, of Mississippi. The field embraced is chiefly Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. The description of the art galleries and museums of Paris, Dresden, Florence, Rome, and Naples, is one of the most interesting and instructive features of the volume.

We have received from Professor Thomassy a copy of his elaborate work upon the *Practical Geology of Louisiana*, printed in the French language, and illustrated with numerous charts and maps, most superbly executed. The work will shortly be published also in English. The French copy is for sale in New-Orleans, at Bloomfield's bookstore, and it would afford us pleasure, also, to supply copies from such as Mr. Thomassy has placed within our control. The National Observatory at Washington has subscribed for six copies of this elaborate and valuable work, the Smithsonian Institution for three copies, the Coast Survey for several copies, etc., etc. We shall hereafter refer very fully to this work, and publish from it the hydrology of the Mississippi river.

The most competent savans of Europe have borne testimony to M. Thomassy's work, that it constitutes authority in matters of modern geology. Mr. Alfred Maury, cousin of the illustrious director of the observatory at Washington, and general secretary of the Society of Geography of Paris, Member of the Institute of France, &c., speaks as follows of M. Thomassy's labors in pointing out the original narrative of the discovery of the Mississippi by De LaSalle:

"One of our late associated members, M. Raymond Thomassy, who started seeking in the New World allment for his prodigious activity, has found this relation among the archives of the navy, and has just published it. It is an extract of his beautiful work on the *Practical Geology of Louisiana*. The observations of De LaSalle, brought within our reach by M. Thomassy, give to his own observations a valuable confirmation. The book, which he is now publishing, will permit us to follow the changes of direction and course of the great American river. M. Thomassy has visited the mouth of the Mississippi. He has made on its fluvial deposits the most interesting observations, proper to modify the ideas of geologists about the age of alluvial formation, and proving that the river brings down a great deal more of sediments than was supposed heretofore. And now, where such a question becomes a matter

of increasing attention, these new data acquire a very serious importance."

See in the advertising columns of the REVIEW the prospectus of the Nashville Female College, which is again under the charge of Prof. C. D. Elliott, and which has for twenty years been one of the most important institutions in the Southwest.

It had the present year 429 pupils, of whom 194 were boarders. The number of graduates was 64. Mr. Elliott is eminently qualified for the post which he holds, and is in heart and soul a Southern man. There is no point in the South better adapted for a flourishing female college than Nashville, and we wish the most abundant success to this. In his circular, Mr. Elliott says:

"I first entered the academy as a teacher, June, 1839. In 1840, jointly with Dr. Lapsley, I took charge of the day school. In 1844, in the same relation to Dr. Lapsley, I took charge of the boarding house and ornamental department. During 1843, he and myself had taken young ladies to board in our private families in the city. In 1844, Dr. Lapsley retired from the boarding house, but remained associated with me in the day school until 1848, when he retired to become pastor of the Second Presbyterian Congregation. So that since 1848—under its Board of Trustees—I have had the entire control of the academy."

Let the friends of the REVIEW at the South now remember that the times require something more from them in its behalf than sympathy. The work requires an increase of its subscription list, and prompt payment from its subscribers, and without the latter it would be almost impossible to subsist during the crisis. Who would falter at such a time? If the services of the REVIEW in behalf of the South be admitted, and they appear to be on all sides, then do not fail to contribute its life-blood! Let the subscription money be sent on if other debts remain unpaid. *Remit to New-Orleans, in part or whole, whatever is known or believed to be due, and remit promptly.* Payment will as promptly be acknowledged. Unless this be done, the editor foresees the greatest possible embarrassment, and will the people of the South permit this?

The active part which is now being taken by the Editor in the movements of the South are having their fruits.

A subscriber at Travis, Texas, writes: "Enclosed find five dollars. I am forced to send it by a sense of wrong which I was doing to you and the South by my delay."

Another subscriber at Uniontown, Ala., is, however, not so happy. He says: "Secession is upon us, and its consequences will inevitably follow. Please stop my REVIEW." (Strange conclusion.)

A third, and here is an old friend of fifteen years' standing, and will he go from us thus? When the storm is over and our liberties and honor safe, our friend will come back. We shall live in that faith, at least. Surely our opinions have been openly expressed in all the fifteen years to which he refers. Here is his letter:

"MEMPHIS, Oct. 23, 1860.

"I have been a subscriber for fifteen years of your REVIEW, and have read it with much pleasure and interest; but your October No. contains several articles so inveterately inimical to our Union—and that at a crisis so perilous—that every true patriot should stand by it, forearmed, for its defence and preservation, that I cannot but feel disinclined any longer to continue my subscription."

*Father Prout's Reliques.*—It is with real pleasure that we call the attention of the readers of the REVIEW to this work. It forms one of the latest volumes added to Bohn's well-known series called "The Illustrated Library." We had never heard of Father Prout until this volume fell into our hands, and we do not yet know whether the name is a real one or whether it is merely a *nomme de plume*. But whoever he may be, we are now prepared to say, that he has written one of the most witty, learned, and genuine books which it has been our fortune to read for many a day. It is impossible, by description, to give a precise idea of the nature of this remarkable work. It is a kind of *melange*, embracing a little of everything comprehended in the wide domain of philosophy, literature and art. Its chief characteristic, however, consists in a series of exceedingly clever translations into English from French, Italian, and Latin poetry, and also of translations by a reverse process, from the English into each of

those languages. For example, we have very spirited versions of the celebrated Irish ballad of "*The Groves of Blarney*," in the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian. Campbell's grand lyric of "*Hohenlinden*," is well given in graceful Latin sapphics, of which the following stanza is a specimen:

"Sol ruit coelo, minutique lumen,  
Nix super torris jacet usque munda,  
Et tenebrosa fluit lser unda,  
FleBILE flumen," &c.

Moore's well-known ballad—

"*Lesbia hath a beaming eye,  
But no one knows for whom it beameth,*"

is rendered, beautifully and accurately, as follows:

"*Lesbia semper hinc et inde,  
Oculorum tela movit,  
Captat omnes, sed deinde,  
Quis ametur, nemo novit.  
Palpebrarum, Nora cara,  
Lux tuarum non est foris,  
Flamma micat ibi rara,  
Sed sinceri lux amoris.  
Nora creina sit regina,  
Vultu, gressu tam modesto  
Hæc, puellas inter bellas,  
Jure omnium dux esto,*" &c.

From Burns, we have Latin translations of "John Anderson my jo, John," and "Green grow the rushes, O." The refrain of the last-named is rendered in this wise:

"*Virent arundines,  
At me tenellulas,  
Tædet horarum nisi quies,  
Inter fui puellulas,*" &c.

We could easily multiply extracts of a like kind, but we forbear for want of space, not for fear of wearying the reader's patience, for we are not at liberty to suppose a single one of our readers, imbued with even a tincture of the *literæ humanæ*, so unappreciative as not to enjoy what we have placed before him. We cordially recommend Father Prout to the kindly attention of all who have not yet made his acquaintance.

The Editor of the REVIEW has returned to New-Orleans, and will be found at his office, in Camp street, during the winter and spring months.